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SOME HISTORICAL AND ETHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE BURDWAN DISTRICT

WITH

AN EXPLANATORY INDEX,

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23

CONTENTS.

Paragraph.		Page.
1	Geographical and tribal description of Burdwan	1
2	Identification of Burdwan with Portalis of the Greek geographers, and the origin of some local names	2
3	Identification of the Bagdi caste with the Gangaridae of the Greeks	2
4	The Bauri caste	2
5	Description of Pargana Shergarh, the Bauri country	3
6	Shergarh fort	4
7	The history of Shergarh Pargana	4
8	The aborigines of Shergarh Pargana	4
9	The Mâls of the forest tracts of Shergarh and Senpahari pargana	5
10	The identity of the Greek Malli or Sabaræ tribe with the Sáuria Mălér, and an account of the Katauri, who are ethnologically connected with the Sauria Mâlér	6
11	The Mâl Paharia and the Mâl of the plains traced to the same origin	7
12	The identity of the Sauria Mălér, the Mâl Paharia, and the Katauri discussed	8
13 & 14	Their difference of language explained, and their identity with the Bagdi and with the Bhuiyas discussed	9
15	The identity of the Sáuria Mălér, the Mâls, and the Katauri illustrated by certain cases in the law courts	13
16	The connection between the Bagdi caste and the Mâl race further discussed	14
17 & 18	The difference of status between the Bagdi and Katauri castes in the Hindu system not incompatible with the theory of their common origin	15
19	Further reasons for assigning to the Bagdis a Dravidian, if not a Mâl origin	16
20	Kolarian and Dravidian tribes of the Burdwan district	17
21	The Sadgops of Gopbhum	17
22	The Aguris	17
23	History of Gopbhum and the origin of parganas Salimpur and Senpahari	19
24	Conjectures as to the immigration of the Sadgops to Gopbhum, and their connection with the Bagdis	20
25	The absence of tribal cohesion in the Bagdis and in Dravidian races generally as compared with Kolarian races	21
26	The predatory habits of the Bagdis and of Dravidian races generally	23
27	Muhammadan and other remains in Burdwan. Chaitanya and his preaching	24
28	Conclusion	25
Appendix I.—The racial origin of the Sadgop. Their connection with the Goalas discussed		26
Appendix II.—The origin of the word 'Katauri'		28

tribe still more degraded than the Bagdis. In numbers they come next to the Sadgops, and, like the Bagdis, are a distinctive people. The following remarks discuss the history and position of these four great tribal sections of the population.

2. Burdwan (Vardhamâna) is identified by M de St. Martin as the Parthalis or Portalis which, according to the Greek geographers, was the royal city of the Gangardæ or Gangarides. The Damodar is identified by Mr. Wilford as the Andômatis of Arrian, and the Ajay as Arrian's Amystis, with Katwa (Sanskrit, Katadvipa) as his Katadupa. Hunter says that the word Ājay is the Sanskrità Ā-jaya, "not without victory," the unconquered. This seems so obvious that it is very probably erroneous. Mr. Wilford says that Ajay is the ordinary contracted form of the Sanskrit Ajávati, and the parallel cases of the Cossye, which is certainly Kânsavati, and the Selye, still called Sikbati, support him. He also says that the Sanskrit name of the Dammuda, as he calls it, is Dharmadayá. The popular spelling in vernacular is certainly at present Damudar or Damodar; and as the latter is a not inappropriate Sanskrit word, there is no need to go to Dharmadayá. The local people, no matter what their pretentions to literateness, cannot give the slightest help on points like these. They say that the old name for Katwa is Kantânagar. I believe in Kata—or Kanta-dvipa. The Bhagirathi shore does run into islands (*dwipas*) or peninsulas, *e.g.*, Agradwipa and Nabadwipa or Nadia, which are close by.

3. The Gangaridæ or Gangarides were, I have little doubt, mainly composed of the Bagdis, who are still plainly identifiable as the original stratum of the population of the Burdwan district in its deltaic portion, and who are allowed by Hindus of pure Aryan race to represent the great aboriginal section which was admitted within the pale of Hinduism, in distinction from all the rest, whether semi-Hinduized or completely non-Hindu, who are classified as Chuars.

4. The other great stratum is the Bauri caste. But the Bauris, though semi-Hinduized and calling themselves Hindu and so called by their low-caste neighbours, are not admitted to be Hindu by the Hindu Aryans, but are pronounced by them to be unmitigated Chuars. These Bauris are supposed to be a section of the great tribe of the Uberræ mentioned by Megasthenes. This is the purest conjecture. I have always been unable to form any theory of their ethnical origin, beyond recognizing them to be Dravidian, or to connect them with any other tribe or caste. They are, however, plainly the lowest large stratum now to be found in the non-deltaic portion of the district—rather more than

a third of it—which may be called Bauri land, while the remaining large deltaic portion is still more distinctly Bagdi land. The Bagdi are an infinitely purer and more settled race, and possess far better characteristics—mental, physical and moral—than the Bauri. They are also an older settled race, and possess and suggest points of connection with other tribes which are not to be found in the Bauri. While they are undoubtedly the original stratum in Bagdi land, the Bauri are only the lowest stratum now found in large numbers in what I call Bauri land, and in this view they may be dismissed with a few further remarks. Of course, by the Bauri land and Bagdi land of the present Burdwan district, I do not mean the whole country of the Bauri and the Bagdi. But when Burdwan was bestowed on the East India Company in A.D. 1760, it was understood to contain not only the whole of the actual Burdwan zemindari which embraced Hooghly and ran far down into Midnapore, but also the whole of the realms of Bishtupur, Pachet and Birbhum, which the Burdwan Rajas had shortly before subjugated. This territory would include the whole of the modern districts of Burdwan, Hooghly and Bankura, and a great part of Midnapore, Birbhum, Manbhum and the Santal Parganas, and contains the whole of the present Bauri country and the main portion of the Bagdi country. The Bagdi of course are spread across the river far into the Gangetic delta.

5. The typical Bauri tract is *pargana* Shergarh, which, except for the small area of *thana* Kaksa, embracing *parganas* Senpahari and Salimpur, is conterminous with the present Raniganj sub-division. *Pargana* Shergarh is the coal-field of Bengal. It is that part of the promontory of Central India which lies between the Ajay and the Damodar, a stretch of rolling rocky country which is still covered for a third of its area with forest, and, before the coal discoveries half a century ago, was a tremendous wilderness, dotted at long intervals by tiny clearings and settlements, and intersected by no great route or road. The only route through it was the Ajay on the north, as is evidenced by the line of forts planted along it on both sides. The only remains of any importance in *pargana* Shergarh are the lovely stone temples at Baigunia on the Barakhar; the beautiful shrine, also of stone, of Kaliyaneshwari, four miles north of the temples; some stone remains round the tank in the Dighi forest, east of Faridpur police-station; the stone fort of Raja Narottam at Churulia on the Ajay; and the mud fort at Dihi Shergarh, the old capital of the *pargana*, on the Damodar. There is no tradition connecting any of these, except the last, with any section of the present population. The oldest residents of Churulia are the Muhammadan *aymadars*, who live under

the fort, and have appropriated its cut stones for their own tombs, mosques, and houses. The Hindus are all quite new settlers. It is very probable that the *aymas* were granted to the Muhammadan soldiery who subdued the holder of the fort, as in the parallel case at Kaksa, to be shortly noticed; but the *aymadars* have no such legend or tradition, nor do they know the origin of the Muhammadan settlement in this remote spot in the wilderness; nor can any one say to what caste even Raja Narottam belonged, beyond assigning him to the Burdwan family, with which he had nothing to do. The stonework at Dighi is similarly ascribed to them. It is far more ancient than any remains of theirs and resembles the Katauri remains in the Santal Parganas.

6. The Dihi Shergarh fort is comparatively modern. It was erected by, and still belongs to, the Rajput house of Pachet, who were, till almost a century ago, the proprietors of *pargana* Shergarh, when Chitra Sen Rai, of the Burdwan family, conquered it from them in about 1742 A.D. They still own a large part of it chiefly as *brahmottar* or *debottar* of different kinds.

7 The Pathan sovereigns of Birbhum, too, laid hands on the *pargana*, and held it till Chitra Sen wrested it from them. It was a short for no-man's land,* for the chiefs of the Pandra *pargana* in Manbhum held part of its north-western portion, though whether as feudatories of Pachet or not is uncertain. All these dominations are still traceable in the constitution of the *ghatwali* police posts which dot the *pargana*. The quit-rent of that at Hadla, close to Kaliyaneshwari's shrine on the Barakhar, is still claimed by Pandra. The *ghatwali* tenure-holders further east claim the protection of Regulation XXIX of 1814, because they were constituted by the Birbhum Rajas. The *digwars* of Asansol owe their origin as rural police to Pachet, traces of whose domination are visible in many other ways. The *Pargana*, nevertheless, was permanently settled with the house of Burdwan.

8. Owing to its physical character and situation, it was long both the high road and the harbour of the Chuars of the Jharkhand—the jungle tribes generally—in their descents upon the settled country of the east; but there is no trace of who its original general population were, and, except the Mâls, to be presently noticed, I could identify no inhabitants as of undoubtedly longer standing than the Musulman *aymadars* at Churulia. The Santals, for instance, who occupy in

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* *Pargana* Shergarh, a no-man's land. Hastings took advantage of this to appropriate a considerable slice of the west of it, which he bestowed, just before his departure, on his famous confidante and preserver Kanta Babu. It, with the other pieces of land in other districts and provinces similarly appropriated, was called *pargana* Kantanagar (part of which lies in Ghazipur, North-Western Provinces), and it is still held by Maharani Sarnamayi of Kalimbazar.

a fringe its wildest, most primitive looking, and least accessible parts, have settled there, we know, within the century. It is possible that it had no general population, and that the Mâls,* few as they are, are its real aborigines. The Bauris, however, are by far the largest section of its population of a primitive character. They do not claim to be autochthonous, as do the Mâls; and as they have all the characteristics of a broken race, with no clannishness, no cohesion, "no past, no present, and no future," it is possible that they are a segment of some such people as the Uberræ of Megasthenes, the Bhars of Bihar, who poured or drifted into the country as it became open to them. They have no traditions of kings, or leaders, or gods, or of any state anterior to their present degraded serfdom. There are many Bagdis in Bauri-land; but as this race has always sought extended cultivation and settled conditions, I am inclined to believe that though on its passage to the deltaic plains it may have traversed Shergarh, the members of it now found there have come back from their eastern settlements, and are the overflow of Bagdi-land, and not the indigenous population. Regarding the Bauri, I can get no further than the above conjectures. They have not sunk to a state so low as that of the sweepers and the Haris, but otherwise their [illegible]dation is low as it well can be. They are always ready to [illegible]nize with any of their neighbours, the Santals and Bagdis, [illegible]vill accept their society, especially when food and in[illegible]nts are in question. To the west of them, and among [illegible]s a large Hari population, towards whom they show [illegible]e disposition, just sufficiently guarded to keep up the [illegible] and I am informed, and I think it likely to be true, [illegible] Hari ranks are largely recruited from Bauri out[illegible]ndeed the Haris, who are necessarily of very mixed [illegible] not in the main owe their origin to this race.

[illegible]orest tracts of Shergarh and the adjoining jungle [illegible]npahari, chiefly in villages on the Ajay, are still [illegible] nearly 2,300 Mâls—Rajbansi Mâl as they call [illegible]-clearly identifiable as members of the great [illegible]ich, from an ethnological point of views is to me [illegible]ing of [illegible]y of the primitive peoples of India. [illegible]ail [illegible]otice of it, because it seems to me [illegible]nection between the Mâl and the [illegible]er are the offshoot of the former

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[illegible] Shergarh. The practice of worshipping old [illegible]s in some of which are of great age and size [illegible] The Mâl Paharias have the same custom. [illegible]y the Santals, cherish religious groves, they [illegible] of fine old trees, and invariably cut them down. [illegible]aridpur, is very like a Mâl Pahari village in its

parent race who have occupied the delta, sheltered themselves under Aryan Hindu masters, settled down to labour and permanent agriculture, and been received within the fold of Hinduism, and acknowledged to be entitled to participate in the Vedic doctrine and its benefits.

10. The Malli (always with the double l, which probably represents the soft and liquid sound of their own Mălé and Mălér) and the Sabaræ or Suari or Suaræ, are mentioned by all the Greek geographers. They were east of the Prasii of Patna, and their boundary was the Ganges, and they lay about mount Maleus or Mallus, which threw so notable a shadow.* The Suari and the Malli are the same. The Sauria Mălér, as they love to call themselves in their euphonic tongue, which makes their Hindu name Pahari into Paharia, as it turns Suari into Sauriă, still lie 50,000 strong, primitive and unmixed as they were in the days of Sandracottus—absolute aboriginals, hemmed in by the Ganges, in the hills of Rajmahal and of north Godda and Pakaur. Beside them and below them, around Mandâr, once the churn of the ocean, which still casts as mighty, though not as portentous, a shadow as when, as mount Mallus, the shade from it used to fall for half the year to the north, lie in fast dwindling numbers their brethern and kinsmen, also Malli and Suari of old, who loved the ease and fertility of the plains and gave the its kings and princes; and later on coalesced and i married with the Rajput Aryans as they approach took their Hinduism with the status of its soldier caste never daring to call themselves Kshatriyas at once, wer with the name of Kshatauri,† or Katauri, as the near missible approach to it. These are the Katauri, often with Khetris or the more general Chhatris or Khatri old debateable land which lay between the subahs and Bengal, which later on came to be South I and West Birbhum, extending right down to the most of which now lies in the modern districts Parganas. The Katauri remains are still seen of as far south as Karmmatanr (a station o Indian Railway chord line), and particularly Karon, which is close to it; but the Katauris disappeared from the west and sout th used to cover, and have receded

* NOTE.—The Greek geographers use s terms. They also called the Malli, Mande Mandâri, people of Mandâr. The Monede purest type of the Kolarians as contrasted wi Dravidians on whose borders they lay as they

† Katauri. The word is variously spelt and Keturi, Ketūri and Katŭri; also Katori and Keto

ls, driven back, I believe, by the Bhuiyan* invasion om the south about three centuries ago, which established e petty kingdom of Lachmipur, the *pargana* of Passai, and ost of the *ghatwalis* of Sarath Deoghar, and immediately receded the formation of the sovereignties of Birbhum and Kharakpur by two Pathan adventurers. At the British accession five important Katauri chieftaincies still survived, protected by the Muhammadan officers at Bhagalpur and Monghyr, to whose *pargana* of Bhagalpur, though geographically quite disconnected from them, four of them were attached as dependent *tappahs*. These four were Manihari, the largest and the parent of them all, whose chief was acknowledged sovereign of all the present Rajmahal hills and valleys, and from which had sprung the other three, Patsanda, Barkop and Usila, dependent on *pargana* Bhagalpur. The fifth was Hendue, also an offshoot from Manihari, which had barely survived the Bhuiya invasion, and then with the Bhuiya conquest, had been annexed by the Pathan Rajas of Kharakpur, to whose successors it is still formally and reluctantly attached.† Usila has dissappeared. Manihari is in the last stage of decay, the greater part of it alienated, and with no male heir. Hendue, Barkop and Patsanda still exist; Hendue and Patsanda with the custom of primogeni- re, which in Barkop was broken down in 1879. These ee Katauri chieftainships alone still cover an area of 1,000 square miles.

uth of the Mălér, or Sauria Paharias, as they are usually , but in the same ranges of hills, and separated by no l, but only by a fiscal and imaginary line boundary, Mâl Paharias. They are clustered thickly in these i-Koh hills, because they there enjoy the protective of which Cleveland was the author; but unlike the Mălér, who are almost absolutely confined to the hills, Paharia are found diffused on the edges of the s and beyond them to the south and west, in more ntinuous lines, clinging to jungle country till they into the cultivated delta, and are seen calling

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rsion into the north. The memory of this is just as vivid, those of the Santal immigration from the south, begun in 1815 (*vide* Sutherland's Report and the rd-room). In 1882 a Mâl Pahari of Gumru in ed for shooting an arrow at the Bhuiyan hatwals of Regulation XXIX of 1814. The stors had owned Gumru hill and been dis- Yet we know that the Bhuiyian incursion hammadan kingdoms of Birbhum and Kharak- n (A.D. 1600).

s a *patni* or *Mukarrari* dependency of Kharakpur. stor at the Permanent Settlement in vain sought for endent *pargana*, to this day pays his rent into Court

themselves Mâl only, and ignorant of the distinctive descri
tion Pahari, which their Hindi neighbours imposed on the

12. To any observer of the two peoples as they lie side b
side—the Mălér to the north, the Mâl to the south—in th
Damin-i-Koh, it is plain that they are almost identical
Their physique and Tamil features, their women's Tami
dress, and above all the peculiar formation and sur-
roundings of their villages and houses, are the ocular
evidences, and on the actual border they cannot be dis-
tinguished. Nevertheless the Mâl have lost their distinctive
Dravidian tongue, and speak a Hindi or Bengali patois.
It is only on the border that they understand the tongue of
the Mălér. They have embraced Hinduism, and indivi-
duals among them are far taller, robuster and darker than
the Mălér (who are a fair race), showing unmistakeably
some mixture of other blood. In character, too, they are far
fiercer and more courageous, and show considerable aptitude
for work, while the Mălér are one of the mildest races,
and probably are the most worthless race in the world. In
fact the Mâl scarcely approach more closely to the ancient
Malli—the Sauria Mălér—than do the Katauris. The latter
are identical in feature and physique (with only the difference
due to their being plainsmen) with the Mălér, with here and
there an individual showing a preponderance of Aryan bloo
Their dress makes a great difference at first sight; they b
lost the Dravidian tongue; they are strict Hindus;
though sneered at by Aryans of race for their jungle or
they enjoy the high status of Chhatris or Kshatriyas. Th
Paharia claim the same status. In the hills they call
selves the Kumer Bhag, or princely section, and ta
titles of Sing and Rai. In the plains, as already
with regard to the Burdwan Mâls, they call the
Rajbansi, or of royal race, as do the Dravidian K
Dhimal, whom physically they much resemble. Th
do precisely the same, their chiefs claiming solar
in ridiculous contrast to their negritic features.
assumptions are treated with the utmost ridi
Hindus, who regard them as a mere jungle ra
even admit their pretensions to Hinduism,
unreservedly among the Chuars, ar
class the Bhuiya clansmen. The Bl
15th or 16th century, which pr
Mălér country, has been noticed.
are found side by side with the
Mâls, whose physique shows them t
closely resemble the Bhuiya than a
much disposed to conjecture that the
with their Hinduism, such as it is, an
from the Bhuiya. It need hardly be a

hey claim solar and lunar descent, the Mâl repudiate all connection by origin with the autochthonous Mălér. The Mălér, on the other hand, allow that the Mâl are sprung from them, but say that they are impure and are no longer Sauria. This is just what was to be expected.*

There remains the phenomenon of their distinction from the Mălér in language, with no physical feature to account for it. Indeed the Mâl Paharia country in the Damin-i-Koh is still more primitive and inaccessible than the Mălér tract, though it is narrower and more closely hemmed by Hindi and Bengali speaking people on both sides. The boundary between the Mâl and Mălér, and their languages is a fiscal one. The same sharp distinction of language is to be seen unaccounted for by any natural boundary, between Bengali and Uriya, and Bengali and Hindi. It must be due, therefore, to moral rather than physical causes, to devotion to a particular leader or a particular faith. The Mălér were, till the 15th century, under the sole sovereignty of the Raja of Manihari, their own kinsman. In the 16th century the Muhammadans sliced out the *pargana* of Ambar, which at the British accession stretched right through the hills, and conferred it upon a Brahman Rishi, a Pande from Kanauj, whose descendants still hold its portion in the plains. These Brahman *zamindars* were so high above the aboriginals that they had neither call to interfere with their language nor their religion; while they were quite strong enough to ward off from them the Bhuiyan invasion which was then in progress. It, meanwhile, was affecting the country to the south, which was soon afterwards con-
f as part of the great *pargana* of Sultanabad on the
family, whose descendants still hold the plains por-
that *pargana*. Sultanabad stretched right through
to the plains beyond, where some of its villages still
th of Sultanabad the country was seized on by the
of Birbhum, who, with their brother-adventurers of
r, were the chief to profit from the upheaval
the Bhuiyas. These changes were followed by
resting changes of names. The Mălér country
divisions into which the parent Manihari

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recentness of the Mâl Paharia's Hinduism is
hosial Sing. *Tappah* Kunwarpal acknowledged
Raja of Sultanabad. Sankara was constituted
was already beginning to call himself a Raja.
, lay in a state of anarchy. In the middle
venturer called Khosial Sing made himself its
fort on its highest hill, Mahuagarhi, where its
descended into the plains of Hendue, and was
that kingdom, at a spot just under Mahuagarhi,
oleration of his assumption by the Mâls of Marpal
y their anxiety to have a Rajput status.

kingdom was distributed, or followed the names of th portions sliced out of it and conferred upon others, lik *pargana* Ambar and *pargana* Tiliagarhi,* which latte was given to a Tili who had turned Muhammadan with th name of Roshan Bakht. The hill portion of *pargana* Ambar, however, became a *tappah*, and was, and still is, called Saurpal or Suarpal. Similarly the hill portion of Sultanabad became a *tappah*, and was called Kumarpal.

14. The country to the south belonged to the huge *tappah* of Belpatta of the Birbhum realm, and its hill portion was divided into two sub-*tappahs* called Dânrpal and Marpal. This termination *Pal*, by the assent of the Paharias themselves, and by analogy with much of their patois, is for *Pahar*. It is as often called *Pali* or *Peli*, that is, *Pahari*. What Danrpal means I cannot conjecture. Marpal is Mâlpahar, the hills of the Mâl; and Kunwarpal is Kunwarpahar, the hills of the Kunwars; while Suarpal means the hills of the Sauri. Suarpal and Kunwarpal abut on each other, the former being the southernmost division of the Mălér, and the latter the northernmost of the Mâl. Thus the two divisions of the people marked their respective boundary tracts by sharply distinctive names which indicated the tribal differences between them. This alone was sufficient to give the moral effect which sustained the difference in language. Moreover, the Mâls of Kunwarpal claim a blood relationship with the Rajput *zamindars* of Sultanabad, in whose *pargana* their *tappah* lay till Cleveland severed it in 1780, and to whom they still profess a nominal or traditional allegiance. The late Maharaja Gopal Chandra Singh, husband of the proprietress of Sultanabad, used to disavow this sto a conscious smile; but as it always was the p Rajput or Chhatri conquerors to form such allian the primitive independent races with whom th in contact—a practice of which there are hun examples throughout India, and of which, in th connection, the cases of the Katauris and Bh prominent instances—the Mâl tradition on th has probably a good foundation, which we account for a race which claimed such ki

* It has been said that the Hinduized Malli nearest appoximation which they dared take t afford another sample amongst many other inst are a mixed impure caste who follow the busin attempt to approximate to or be mistaken for who assume the status of land-holding Brahm afford another instance, as do the Burdwan Khet (the very first Babu in the modern and comm viz., a Bengali dressed in clean clothes), Hastin was a Til, as his famous descendant Maharani Sarna

a separate tongue. In any case the vicissitudes of a mountain language, when the tract of mountain is small, require no other explanation than the progress of civilisation and the advance of the dominant tongue. At the time of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, Erse was the only language spoken and understood by the people of the mountains in my own county, Wicklow. For many years it has been an absolutely unknown tongue in that county. It is only in Kunwarpal, where they stand alone in their hills, preserving, remnant though they are, much the same position as when they were a comparatively powerful race and first embraced Hinduism, that the Mâls maintain a position at all proportionate to their claims to caste. In the plains, where they are dominated by their more Aryan and more purely Hindu neighbours, they retain only the titles which connect them with a royal race, and are otherwise among the lowest of the low. In the Deoghur sub-division they are called Pujahars and Naiyas; the former, I believe, merely a nickname evoked by the novelty of a jungle race being seen to perform Hindu worship; and the latter designating them, in distinction from their old demon-worship, as followers of a new creed. Thus they have spread over all Bengal, and, as they have got further from their original seat, have lost, I believe, even while still calling themselves Mâls, the pretensions to royal blood which the Rajbansi Mâls of Burdwan, as well as the Pujahars and Naiyas of Deoghur, still retain. Between these Mâls and the Bagdis there is an intimate connection. To this day they partake of the same *hookah* and admit a common origin, and, in the case of Bishtupur,* a common sovereign; and my observation of both people leads me to conjecture that the Bagdis are the section of the Mâl who have accepted civilization and life in the cultivated country as serfs and co-religionists of the Aryans; while those Mâls, who are still found scattered through the Bengal delta, and who are not, like the Rajbansi Mâls of Burdwan, clearly traceable to the Mălér of the hills, are [illegible]er the descendants of isolated and conservative fragments [illegible] race, or of those members of it who tried to follow the [illegible] of the Bagdi after the latter had become constituted [illegible]nized and exclusive caste, and therefore failed. In [illegible] have an undoubtedly autochthonous race. To [illegible] and certainly traced the Mâl Paharis, and [illegible] Mâls of, at all events, all Western and [illegible]nd, as I conjecture, the Bagdi). The [illegible] the successive departures from the [illegible] are change of language, change of

* [illegible] used to lie conterminous with the old Kataur [illegible] the modern Damin-i-Koh.

religion, some mixture of blood followed by changes of physique in individuals, and readiness to follow manual labour and settled cultivation. These gradations are plainly marked by each successive step of removal from the originals. As regards these changes, the following must be borne in mind:—

The Sauria Mâlér, though now found as a single isolated race, are only so in their position, which the physical character of the country and then the system of Augustus Cleveland at once account for. They are merely an unadulterated segment of the great Dravidian race, and are indentical with the Oraons and Sabaras (Suari) of the south and south-west. Their worthlessness, with their aversion to all labour and to settled cultivation, is merely a local peculiarity common to all primitive hill people. The Oraons are generally called Dhangars, and the name Dhangar is synonymous in Bengal with a hard and valuable field worker. Colonel Dalton was much puzzled to account for its derivation, and was not aware that the Mălér in their own tongue, and therefore also the Oraons, whose language is identical, call their men of fighting age, their *Juventus*, Dhangar, or, as they euphonize it, Dhangaria. Mălér itself is the plural of Mălé, and Mălé means a man; so these autochthones called themselves "The men," just as do their Kolarian neighbours the Mundas and Santals (Hor), and the Larka Kols (Ho). It has been surmised that the Mâl Paharias derived their admixture of foreign blood with their Hinduism from the Bhuiyas; but the Bhuiyas, too, are another section of the great Dravidian race, whose chief seat is Keonjhar, where their chiefs are kings, but who extend to the Carnatic and throughout Telingana, where they are the most prominently historic tribe. The word Bhuiya, again, like the pure Sanskrit Bhumij, is a name bestowed on them by, or borrowed by them from, the Aryan invaders. It has been surmised that the Mâl Paharias had an admixture of Bhuiya blood: but it is just as possible that the Bhuiyas were Mâls, or so section or offshoot of the great tribe of the Malli. The the meaning of the name Mălér is "The men," it not be forgotten that Mălé is still the Dravidian and Tamil) for a hill, and may, as well as Mă be the derivation of the word Mâl. The na a title of the Rajas of Bishtupur, the ackno the Bagdis, and of the present Mâls who are around whom are centred the most con refer to the connection between these tw genealogists of the house of Bishtupur tary title Malla means the wrestler be Mallabhum, the land of th

know, except for the mere coincidence of sounds,* both assumptions are equally gratuitous, and Manbhum is the land of the Mâl, and its prominent races are, putting aside the Kolarians and the inexplicable Bauris, the Mâl and their cousins with the sanskritized name, the Bhuiya. I do not accept the conjecture that Mălé, a hill, must be the derivative of the word Mál, because the Malli were not an exclusively hill race, but a widely diffused people to whose purest remnant the Rajmahal hills, fenced in on two sides by the Ganges and elsewhere by the impenetrable "Jungle Terry" (Terai), as the English of Cleveland's day called what is now the cleared country of South Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas, combined with the protective policy of the Mughals, and then of Augustus Cleveland, have afforded an undisturbed shelter.

15. In the foregoing I have attempted to trace the origin and development of the most important original race in the Burdwan district. Its connection with the Mâl must be conjectural, deduced only from the traditions of both people in Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, and Manbhum; their connection with the house of Bishtupur; their present relationship or half-relationship; their position; and finally, the physical resemblances between them. But the earlier descriptions and developments rest on no such uncertainty. The Mălér are there to speak for themselves, absolute aboriginals and absolutely unmixed; so regardless of time that they have no era earlier than that of Chilmili, as they call Cleveland. The connection between them and the Katauri race is equally certain. It is a matter of notoriety among their neighbours around, and in the Katauri families, and it was brought out in evidence in the Barkop succession case, which, as District Judge of the Santal Parganas, I finally heard in 1879. One party claimed the autochthonous origin and the race customs, and the other the Maithili law of their Aryan female ancestors, whose religion and status they had adopted. The [illegible]ory of the Mâl Paharias was similarly brought out, and [illegible] origin and the law governing them similarly disputed, [illegible]litigation around the Sankara estate, which still is, and [illegible]ince 1855, under the Court of Wards. Sankara is the [illegible] group of hills south-west of the present Damin-i-[illegible]ough part of the original Damin-i-Koh recog-[illegible], were cut off from it in the years 1826 to [illegible]mely self-willed and autocratic officer, the [illegible] Ward, when he was forming the present [illegible]ears. Cleveland made no distinction [illegible] the Mâl, and conferred a set of his

[illegible]krit,—a wrestler.

stipends on the Mâls of Sankara, and of course, with them, the privileges of his legal system for the hills. Sankara lay in the Birbhum *zamindari*, close to the cleared country, and easily accessible; and the chief of Cleveland's time, Tribhuban Sing by name, more resembled a petty *talukdar* than one of the barbarous mountaineers, and was in fact a plainsman. His son, Sumar Sing, a man of great character and physical energy, combined the predatory habits of a Paharia with the cunning and litigiousness of a Bengali, and used to raid almost up to the civil station of Suri, about 30 miles away, and to secure immunity from the consequences by pleading the privileges of Cleveland's system and trial by his peers. In this way he formed a very considerable *taluk*, the genesis of which only came to light in the course of Mr. Ward's operations. That officer indignantly cut it off from the Damin-i-Koh, and in doing so had to sever the genuine mountaineers recognized by Cleveland, and vested with sets of stipends by him, in the high hills to the south-west of Sankara. All this territory was restored to the permanently-settled tracts in the midst of which it lay. It is curious that, notwithstanding his indignation with Sumar Sing, Mr. Ward made no attempt to interfere with the Sankara stipends, which continued to be paid till 1879, when I resumed them. Sumar Sing, meanwhile, retained his ill-gotten territory and the title of Raja; and in the litigation which followed his death, the *Dayâbhaga* was claimed by one party of disputants as the law governing the family, and was decreed to be so by the Privy Council. The present ward, his grand-daughter, Sibu Sundari, is still called Rani in her own little court. She, by the way, though married to a Mâl of Kunwarpal, by whom she has children, has afforded more than once a living illustration of how the Mâl blood can become mixed. The Mâls of Sankara no longer inhabit their hills, but the plain around them; and the whole Sankara episode illustrates the changes which make it hard to identi[illegible] a Mâl labourer, one of the lowest of the low, of the delta, w[illegible] the self-styled Sings and Rais of Kunwarpal and their purer northern brethren the Mălér, though every step connection by mere geographical proximity, and tradition at each stage can be traced out.

16. In conjecturing that the Bagdi were the chi[illegible] of the Gangaridæ, while at the same time s[illegible] Malli, I dwell on the fact that the word [illegible] geographical term, while the word Malli [illegible] nation.* This is supported by the w[illegible]

* NOTE.—The race name used by the Greek [illegible] south and east of the Malli was Kalingæ, or, [illegible] Kalanga, the "black-bodied" people, the "[illegible] Malli (Mălér and Katauris), who are fair a[illegible]

and by the fact that it was applied only to the people of the land actually formed by the Ganges in its changing and divided courses after it had passed the last rocky barrier at Rajmahal. Moreover, I must admit that the Bagdis of the Greek geographer's time had already adopted their status under the Brahminical system, which they now occupy, and that the Gangaridæ, while composed mainly of them, included also their Brahman priests and masters. If this was so, it will be asked how could the Bagdi, with their status as serfs and field labourers, barely admitted within the pale of Hinduism, be an offshoot of the Malli, when the Hindu offshoot of the Malli, about which there is no doubt, is found in the present Katauris with their high status of Kshatrias, and with Rajas, great chiefs, and *zamindars* still at their head.

17. That the Gangaridæ were Hindus I think there can be no doubt. The Ganges was then, as now, the sacred river of the Hindus, and as such was known from its source to its mouth. The Aryan invasions, which were, till the British accession, effectually checked by the fastnesses of Rajmahal hills and the deadly jungle Terai which lay on their west face, found no difficulty in the broad river, and had long before founded the great city of Tamralipta (Tamluk) near its mouth. If the Bagdi were then the most numerous among the Gangaridæ, and if Parthalis was Burdwan and their chief city, it would have occupied to them much the same position as Bishtupur did at the beginning of our own times, the undoubted capital of the Bagdis held by a Bagdi king, if indeed, as I am far more inclined to conjecture, Parthalis was not Bishtupur itself. The Katauri, certainly, a slight and fair race, are, except for some peculiarities and bluntness of features, exceedingly unlike the black and sturdy Bagdi; but then the Katauris are the actual section of the Mălér who lie about mount Mandar in the plains, or, just as probably, the present Mălér are the section of the Malli who took refuge in the impenetrable hills. To the [illegible]th and east of them the Ganges shut them in and prevented [illegible]ose sides any development of such an offshoot as the [illegible]is. The other race immediately developed from the [illegible]e the Mâl, who had easy access to the plains to [illegible] east, and to them the resemblance of the Bagdi, [illegible]lly and in status under the Hindu system, is [illegible] already said, the Mâls who joined the [illegible]s after the Bagdi caste was formed, hold, [illegible]eir pretensions to royal race, a lower social [illegible] remains for explanation the apparent [illegible]tus of the Bagdi and the Katauris in [illegible]ink regard to the similar status and [illegible]e Mâl Paharias would account for [illegible]nt for it in this way.

18. The adherence to Hindusim of the Katauris must have been very late, and long subsequent to that of the Bagdi and to the time of Megasthenes. He says that the Suari Malli lay around Mandar. If the section of the tribe who now occupy that country had then been Katauris, they would have been included among the Hindu Prasii, whose tenets they now hold, and a high grade in whose social system they enjoy, and not among the barbarous fetishists, the Mălér, whom as Hindus they now affect to despise. But the fact that the Katauri race is dying out so fast as it is, and before our very eyes, indicates how late its Hinduism was adopted. When brought into actual contact with the Aryan soldier race, whose rank it has assumed, and no longer protected by its barrier forests and the artificial support of the Mughal officers at Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, it cannot sustain the high social status, the burden of which is thrown on it by its assumption, and it is sinking under it. The Bagdis were never placed in this position. The Mâl Paharias have always had a lower, and below it a still lower grade into which to fall, while the Katauris have no such alleviation. Significant of the lateness of their conversion to Hinduism is the fact that the Mughals called on them to adopt Islamism, and the tomb (not the place of cremation) of one of their Rajas of Manihari, who was so converted and circumcised, is still shown beside their strong and ample fort of Lakragarh in the central valley of the Damin-i-Koh. The deity who occupied their sacred hill Mandar is the tutelary goddess of those forest races who turn to Hinduism, and is now worshipped by the reformed or Hinduized Santals, whose sacred hill and shrine and place of pilgrimage Mandar has now become.

19. The following are two amongst the many incidental facts which are inducements towards assigning a Dravidian origin, and, more nearly, one from the Malli, to the Bagdis. There are still in Burdwan some of the settlements, created by the indigo industry when it flourished, of labourers called B[illegible] (Banya) because they were jungle people, and who we[illegible] Oraons. These Bunas now all call themselves Bagdis [illegible] admitting that they are quite apart from the ol[illegible] Bagdis, who treat them with contempt, and [illegible] adopted, or are adopting, Hinduism. Another [illegible] passionate fondness of the Bagdi for fish [illegible] whether in the ordinary way with nets a[illegible] their hands; alike in water, mud and the [illegible] same passion in the Mălér to this d[illegible] attention, because it seems so incompa[illegible] the mountain-tops. But the Mălér[illegible] toxicants, and fish is to them wh[illegible] ordinary plainsman of India. T[illegible]

known by the Hindi names of Tentulia, Dulia, and Behara, are of course recent.

20. That the Bauris are Dravidian I suppose there is little doubt. There is no other considerable section of the population of Burdwan of undoubtedly Dravidian origin. The inexplicable Doms are over 50,000 strong; none of them, as far as my enquiries went, calling themselves Maghaihia, as do the most settled and respectable section of the race in the Katauri land, and its most nomad and criminal portion in Saran, Champaran, and Gorakhpur. The Kolarians have no more numerous representatives than the Santals, some 6,000 strong, the side drift of the great northern migration of that race from Sâmanta in 1815, increased by immigrants whom the coal-mines have attracted. There are some 3,000 or 4,000 Kaoras, and some 35,000 Chandals. Some individuals of the former tribes claim affinity with the Maghs of the Sunderbans, and it is quite possible that both people came up the delta from the coast and are comparatively modern Mongolian or low Indo-Chinese, in contrast to the old Mongolian Kolarians, or to the Dravidians who came down towards the sea. Neither caste is exclusive, and the Chandals, as their name betokens, will admit any one.

21. Coming to Aryan times, the first settlement of which a glimpse can be obtained is that of the Sadgop dynasty of Gopbhum. Gopbhum, still a large *pargana*, is the very furthest cape or headland of the promontory from Central India which juts into the district. The neck of this promontory is *pargana* Shergarh, lying between the Ajay and the Damodar. Between it and Gopbhum in the same formation are the recently formed *parganas* Salimpur and Senpahari, which probably (and part of the former of which certainly) belonged to Gopbhum. The actual headland is formed by Gopbhum, with the delta not only fencing it on the east, but [illegible]ming round it on the south and ed[illegible]ing in on the north. [illegible]yond lay the country formed by the uncertain and ever-[illegible]ing courses, through the silt, of the Damodar, the Ajay [illegible]he Ganges, which, on the British accession, was found to [illegible]ichest tract in Bengal, and the area of its oldest and [illegible]d cultivation. Gopbhum, on the contrary, is still [illegible]he greater part of its surface with *sâl* forest.

[illegible]th part of the debateable land between it [illegible]included in the modern *parganas* Sen-[illegible]r, was of course formerly in the great [illegible]m of Bishtupur, which stretched far [illegible] the modern Damin-i-Koh. But [illegible]iversally current tradition of the [illegible] Sadgop dynasty, some traces of [illegible] only Raja of the race whose [illegible]h, or, as he is locally called,

Mahindi Raja. His seat was Amrargarh, close to the town and railway station of Mankar, and the long lines of fortifications which enclosed his walled town are still visible. To the west his power, or that of the offshoots of his family, did not extend beyond the recently formed *parganas* Senpahari and Salimpur. They are still covered with thick forest, and were apparently the debateable land between the Sadgop realm and Shergarh, over which the power of the ancient Rajput family of Pachet had extended from time immemorial. How far the Sadgop power extended to the east can be surmised from the local prevalence of the members of the modern caste, the Aguris. The succession of great marshes which lie west of the Bhagirathi, south of Katwa, indicate how far west the waters, if not the actual course of that river, used to flow. This line of marshos is the eastern boundary of the country still held by the Aguris, who occupy the old deltaic soil between this line and the present boundary of Gopbhum in which the Sadgops are still the most prominent caste. The tract is now the *pargana* Azmatashahi, a name which indicates that it was formed by the Mughals, and the prevalence of the Aguris in it points to its having formed part of the kingdom of Gopbhum. As usual, the unmixed section of the race is found clinging to the wild and uncultivated portion of its country. For the Aguris, by their own admission, are the product of unions between the Khetris of the house of Burdwan and the Sadgops of the Gopbhum dynasty, and the caste arose within the last two hundred years, if not within a still shorter period. Two hundred years ago was the era of the Burdwan Khetris first assuming prominence. True to the policy of old Aryan invaders, or mere acquirers of the soldier caste, they began to form alliances with the members of the royal race (it mattered not whether purely aboriginal or semi or wholly Aryan, provided it was royal) with which they came in contact. The Khetris, however, had scarcely risen to the state [illegible] Rajas themselves when a combination of circumstances, w[illegible] at this moment are influencing them, induced them to [illegible] their exclusive character as an immigrant people fro[illegible] Oudh or the Punjab, and not as settled inhabitants [illegible] They have, throughout the last two hundred [illegible] this anxiety to keep up by this means their [illegible] the other Khetris who are scattered throu[illegible] consequence was that the Aguri caste, tho[illegible] respectable, has never attained the full [illegible] as it would have done, to judge fro[illegible] origin been less recent. Though it [illegible] from Ugraha-Khetri, or "the f[illegible] allusion to its semi-barbarous a[illegible] Gopbhum), it is a distinctly [illegible]

at least those of one section of the caste, wear the sacred thread, and as the modern Kayasths do with the Baidyas or *vice versâ*, assert their superiority over the Sadgops from whom they have in part sprung, a pretension which, though scorned by the Sadgops, is practically admitted by other Hindus, mainly, I believe, because of the great influence exercised by the Khetri house of Burdwan.

23. This recent formation of the Aguri caste indicates that the Sadgop kingdom of Gopbhum existed, in however curtailed a state, till almost modern times, first, as subject to the Mughals, and then under the shadow of the house of Burdwan itself. This conjecture is borne out by several other circumstances. The remains at Amrargarh are by no means very ancient. Groups of Sadgop families, who claim to be the actual descendants of the kings, are still existing, a well known member of one of them, being the Honourable Mohendro Lal Sircar of Calcutta. But by 1744, Raja Chitra Sen Rai of Burdwan had occupied Gopbhum and built in it his fine fort at Rajgarh. In far earlier times the Sadgop realm had been otherwise encroached on. Its south-western extremity, now *pargana* Salimpur, was held by two Sadgop kinglings, perhaps mere cadets of the house of Gopbhum with this territory as their appurtenance, one at Bharatpur on the Damodar, and the other at Kankeswar, now by common usage contracted into Kaksa. The latter was attacked and overthrown, and his lands taken by a Bokhariot partizan named Sayad Sayad Bokhari, whose descendent Sayads still hold the Kaksa lands in *ayma* to this day. A similar fate overtook the Bharatpur Chief, and *pargana* Salimpur, which embraces a considerable area of deltaic soil, was thus formed. The remains of the tiny forts at Bharatpur and Kaksa are still to be seen, and old Hindu images carved in [illegible]k basalt continue to be found in the neighbouring tanks. [illegible] formation of *pargana* Senpahari was much later. The [illegible] Rajgarh was built by Raja Chitra Sen Rai as an out-[illegible]t his enemies of Birbhum, Pachet, and Bishtu-[illegible] of whom he and his father Raja Kirtti Chand [illegible] cessful war, and all of whom it commanded. [illegible], on the Ajay and on the very confines of [illegible]t (Shergarh), there lies a small table-land [illegible] dense forest, on which he built another [illegible] in which his cannon, with his name in [illegible] graved on them, lie to this day. [illegible] of which lies across the Ajay in the [illegible]e called, after himself and his [illegible] The Burdwan family, when [illegible] his fort and its surround-[illegible]ll the last unfortunate

Maharaja, with a characteristic disregard of the glories of his house, leased it in *patni* a few years ago to the mushroom Raja of Hitampur in Birbhum. As an instance of the kind of aid given by the middle class of Bengalis with some pretensions to education, to historical research, I may mention that the latter's local officer told me that the fort and neighbouring temple had been constructed by Chitra Sen, who was a son of Ballal Sen, whilom king of Bengal.

24. Another place, prolific in Hindu remains like those found at Kaksa, is Mangalkot on the Ajay. It may have been an outpost of the Sadgop realm, but I found enquiry there impossible, as all the local legends centre round the great Vikramaditya; and the people, when reminded that he was king of Ujain, account for their stories by saying that they relate to some other hero of the same name, or to the Ujain Vikramaditya, who, as is well known, had power to transport himself whither he pleased. The Hindu legends of Mangalkot are obliterated by the many historic events belonging to Mughal times which centred round it. The greatest monument left by the Mughals in Burdwan, their splendid road from Gaur, and afterwards Rajmahal, to Midnapore and Cuttack, runs through the village. South of it are the ruins of the most beautiful of the mosques which they planted on this road at every eight miles, and to this spot belong some of the political allowances still paid from the Burdwan Collectorate. Before dismissing the Sadgop dynasty, the question naturally arises of what relation it bore to the Bagdis, in part of whose country it reigned. It can only be said for certain that the Sadgop dynasty held the present Gopbhum and Salimpur *parganas*, because in them only are its remains found; nor does tradition assign to it any wider domain. The prevalence of the Aguris, who undoubtedly sprung from it, in such numbers to the east of Gopbhu[illegible] indicates that its extent may have been wider; but [illegible] any case its undoubted seat was on the high pas[illegible] lands and at the edge of the forest of Gopbhum[illegible] Sadgops, notwithstanding their status at the ve[illegible] the nine Sudra castes, are certainly not pure A[illegible] there are so many individuals among them [illegible] Aryan type that the admixture of Arya[illegible] them must have been very large. In f[illegible] better described as an Aryan race with a[illegible] probably aboriginal, blood, than by [illegible] In origin they claim to be purel[illegible] fact that the Aguris, who have und[illegible] mixture of Aryan blood prese[illegible] pure Aryan type than the S[illegible] for as they were pure Arya[illegible] the Burdwan district by [illegible]

and passed westwards from its shores up to their pasture in Gopbhum and to the kingdom which they founded there. The position of this caste in Nadia, Hooghly, and Midnapore is evidence enough of this. There are no appreciable numbers of them west, north, or immediately south of Gopbhum, and, till the British accession, all routes to a large Aryan migration into it, except from the Ganges, were practically closed by the great Jharkhand or western forests which enveloped it on three sides. The Sadgops came then where their way was clear, through the cultivated Bagdi land. It may be that they fulfilled for the Brahmanical influences, which brought the Bagdis to their present status and religion, the place of such instruments as the Kshatrias and Rajputs have been elsewhere; for there is very little trace of the working of these two races till the recent times of the Burdwan Khetris in the Bengal delta. The Sadgops would then have been the temporal, as the Brahmans were the spiritual, rulers of the Bagdis, and perhaps have derived from them the mixture of non-Aryan blood which is so evident. This surmise, however, is contradicted by the small extent of the Sadgop realm in comparison with the great area of Bagdi land; and also by the known power and position of the Bagdi sovereign of Bishtupur, from whose capital Gopbhum lay only two marches at most. I am inclined rather to conjecture that the Sadgops, though in their purity they came with the higher Aryans to Bengal, and attended them as serfs or menials in their successive progresses, worked their way up through the Bagdi country to the pleasant pastures of Gopbhum, and finding themselves undisturbed and alone there, since the non-pastoral Bagdis had deserted its barren and shallow soil for the richer delta, founded their kingdom, which was of no great antiquity or duration, and could not have existed without something like protection from the neighbouring Bagdi sovereign of Bishtupur. The succeeding history of Burdwan belongs to Mughal times, and I am supported in the foregoing conjectures by the fact that there is no trace, and no tradition, of any anterior power except the realms of Pachet, Bishtupur, and Gopbhum, or of any race or people with whom the Mughals had to contend, or whom they subdued, intervening between themselves and the Bagdis. The Bagdis seemed to have yielded with as much ease and docility to their new masters as, in far earlier times, they are supposed to have done to the Brahman or Brahmanical invaders. In so doing they exemplified another characteristic of the Dravidian races in Bengal, which marks the Bagdis to this day in a high degree.

25. This is the entire absence of that cohesion which is inseparable from the races who follow the community system, and the entire absence of any traces of the community

system, which marks the Dravidian races of Bengal in such sharp contrast to their Kolarian neighbours in whom it is so strong and permanent a feature. Among the Kolarians, every village is a commonwealth, with its officers and elders and different degrees of subordination. In the Santal Parganas, groups of these villages each with its own full organization as a community, are found with a single chief called a *desmanjhi;* and larger groups or collections of these smaller groups, generally corresponding with the *parganas*, whose head is a *pargana* or *parganait*, and the Kols and Mundas and Mahilis have the same system. But all these chiefs and officers, from the most important *parganait* to the village pedagogue, are essentially representatives and servants of the commonwealth, and in no way super-imposed above it. The consequence of this organization is the extraordinary cohesion, or clannishness as it is called, of the Kolarians, and the power by which they are able to maintain their exclusiveness. The Dravidians in Bengal, on the contrary, have either a purely monarchical system or one absolutely anarchical. Even the Katauris, much as they strove to imitate the Kshatrias to whom they had affiliated themselves, show scarcely any traces of an aristocracy. There was the king, and beneath him all members of the tribe were equal. A cadet either sank among the crowd or became himself a kingling with his separate territory, as in the cases of the four Katauri chieftaincies which branched from Manihari. In Hendue there is to this day just such another offshoot, almost as independent in his chiefship as the Hendue Raja is in his. Among the Mălér the *sardar* of each hill is the local sovereign. Below him all are free and equal. The social state of the Mâls, whether under their *sardar* in Kunwarpal or their Raja in Sankara, is the same. The fact was first prominently brought to my notice once in 1880, when, after employing some two hundred men to beat the hills for me, I proceeded to pay them. The Santal and Mahilis at once arranged themselves in rows with their several representatives, while the Mâls and Bhuiyas* sat intermixed apart; and the *parganait* who was with me said that for the former I had only to give the money to their headmen, but the latter I should have to pay individually, as "each man was his own *sardar*." Any cohesiveness which the Mălér had was entirely due to the physical character of their situation: any which they

* NOTE.—This feature is manifested among the Bhuiya, many of whom are Rajas and *zamindars* in a curious way. Their kings and chiefs all claim to be of solar race, and their Hindu parasites foster the pretension. But their tribesmen and clansmen, while claiming the same blood as their kings, and often calling themselves by their common title, ghatwal, do not make this pretension, and are classed by Hindu Aryans among the Chuars.

possess still is solely due to Cleveland's system. As long as they are Mălér and live within the ring-fence of the Damin-i-Koh, they are exempt from rent, and receive considerable allowances from Government. This has been proved, because there were some Mălér at the hills near Khalganw (Colgong railway station), whom Cleveland subsidized; but Mr. J. P. Ward cut them off from the Damin-i-koh, and I resumed their stipends in 1880, and they have disappeared. The wider distribution of the Mâls has made the same feature still more strongly evident in their case. The same district shows them claiming to be princes in Kunwarpal, and working as scavengers in Deoghar. They have disappeared from those southern hills in which Cleveland assigned them stipends, but which Mr. Ward cut off from the Damin-i-Koh; and around the hills of Sankara they can only be counted by scores instead of by thousands, and are maintained in these dwindled numbers solely because that estate is, and has been for over thirty years, under the local Court of Wards. Whatever appearance of cohesiveness the Bagdis possess, is solely due to their Hinduism, and then not to their having attached themselves to that system, but to its Brahman heads having recognized them and assigned them a place, however humble, in it. The Bauris afford an instance of what an anarchic and broken mass is a Dravidian tribe when deprived of its own monarchs; and their position lends weight to the conjecture that they came late to Burdwan, and long after the Hindu system in Bengal had become consolidated and strong enough to be able to keep excluded any new tribes of aboriginals, even though as anxious and eager as the Bauris are to be received within its pale. But, apart from the results of their Hinduism and of their being settled in the cultivated country, the Bagdis are not one whit more united or more fitted for concerted action or for treatment in groups, much less in communities, or through representatives of their own race, than are the Bauris.

One more characteristic of the Bagdis and of the Dravidian races is to be noticed before dismissing them. The most prominent feature of all these races to invaders like the Aryans, the Mughals and ourselves, was their predatory habits. In the case of the Mălér it was these, with their effect and danger enormously exaggerated, that were put forward as the ostensible grounds of Cleveland's very expensive system. The Mâls had the same reputation, and with much reason, as the history of Sankara shows. Mr. Strachey, whose thoughtful and most interesting note on Midnapore is printed in the famous Fifth Report of the Select Committee of 1812, mentions that the Magistrate of Birbhum had shown him a sack or basketful of Paharia heads, pointing to them as showing the only way in which these marauders

could be dealt with. These must have been Mâls, and probably were Sankara men, the subjects of Tribhuban Sing. The Bhuiyas came to Katauri land as a predatory horde, and the engagements which converted them into the ghâtwals of Birbhum were openly made because they were half-subdued robbers and the best able to control their robber subjects. Their brethern, the Boyas of Telingána and the Carnatic, were, as *paligars*, mere robber chiefs. Of the earlier Bagdis nothing so distinct is known, but in the *dacoitis* which from 1775 to 1815, or even till the appointment of the *Dacoity* Commission almost of our own times, disgraced Lower Bengal, and in a particular degree the Bagdi land, the districts of Burdwan with Bankura and Nadia, the perpetrators in nine cases out of ten were Bagdis. The title which these delinquents assumed was *sardar*, the name which the Mălér and Mâl chiefs have adopted. It is still often assumed by the Bagdis, against whom the commonest form of abuse used by their neighbours is that they are a tribe of thieves.

27. The Muhammadan invaders early fixed on Burdwan as one of their seats, and have left in its several interesting relics of those times. Close by was their great settlement at Pandua, and due north of it, near Manteshwar *thâna*, was Mahmudpur; while the fine strategic position of Katwa had soon attracted them. The country between is sprinkled with their settlements, and many of the Muhammadan inhabitants bear a strong resemblance to their Bagdi neighbours. There were conversions of Bagdis no doubt, but, apart from them, the Muhammadan system of marriage, of concubinage, and of lawful affiliation and parentage, would account for a great admixture in the Burdwan Muhammadans of Bagdi blood. The whole district is sprinkled over with numberless *ayma* tenures, and the history of Kaksa and the description of the Muhammadan settlement and *aymá* at Churulia under Raja Narottam's fort, show how some of the Muhammadan villages were formed. The next episode after their establishment was the appearance of Chaitanya. He is particularly identified with the country at the confluence of the Ajay with the Bhagirathi, Katwa having been one of his seats, and with the right bank of the Ajay for some distance from its mouth. The large village of Gorabazar on the Ajay, north-east of Raniganj, is said to owe its name to one of his appellations, which is preserved in its integrity in the Sadgop village of Gorangapur on the Ajay in *pargana* Senpahari, close to Raja Chitra Sen Rai's fortress in the forest table-land. This Gorangapur contains a beautifully built brick temple, a landmark for miles far and wide, still in fine preservation, though deserted, and evidently more than a hundred and fifty years old, which is called Ichhay Ghosh, but about

which I have been unable to obtain any information. It has no connection with Chaitanya, and was very possibly erected when Raja Chitra Sen Rai occupied the neighbouring fort. That Chaitanya made much impression on the Bagdis seems evidenced by the fact that his chief local reputation is as a preacher against intemperance and a reformer of drunkards. The Bagdis must have been by far the largest section of the population which would have admitted the applicability to themselves of such teachings.

28. The subsequent history of the Burdwan district is to be found in Hunter's Statistical Account, and is identified either with the house of Burdwan or the Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan, who died in 1725. The great forts at Kulingram and Talitgarh, close to Burdwan, were built by the Rajas of that family as places of refuge against the Maharattas.

W. OLDHAM,
Magistrate-Collector.

BURDWAN,
The 22nd April 1889.

NOTE.

MY specific authorities in the foregoing are M'Crindle's Ancient India, the local histories of the house of Burdwan, and the volumes of hill correspondence (Cleveland's, Sutherland's, J. P. Ward's) in the Dumka record-room. On the subject of castes in Upper India, I believe that I have read everything that has been published, from volume III of the Asiatic Researches down to Mr. J. C. Nesfield's memoir of 1885. For actual facts, Colonel Dalton's work is of course the most valuable in this mass of writings; but, for method and suggestiveness, none excel Mr. Beverley's (not Mr. Magrath's) report beginning at page 179, paragraph 436 of the report on the census of Bengal, 1872. The fullest of errors are undoubtedly Hunter's Statistical Accounts. In that of his own district, Birbhum (page 383), he says that Santali was its aboriginal language, though there was not a Santal in Birbhum before A.D. 1800. Similar errors abound.

W. O.

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* NOTE.—Ichhay Ghosh's temple. I see there is a marvellously perverted account of it at page 391, Statistical Account of Birbhum, in which Raja Chitra Sen Rai is called Lai Sen, and Senpahari is made to lie north of Suri. The temple of Shyam Rup still exists in the Senpahari fort. It is a whitewashed building of coarse modern brick. The Sadgops of Gorangapur are positive that Ichhay Ghosh was not a Sadgop. They believe he was the architect or artificer of the temple, and say that he was a Kayasth.

APPENDIX I.

The Sadgop.—Mr. John Boxwell remarks: "Sadgop is nearly pure Sanskrit, a *tatsama*, and probably a modern name. It means "good cowherd," and he enquires what is the connection of the Sadgop with the immense Goala tribe of Bengal.

2. The Sadgop are undoubtedly a modern caste, and it has been said (*vide* pages 12 and 13) that their realm Gopbhum could not have been ancient. They have no counterpart in Hindustan; they are not widely diffused, and all the scattered members of the caste refer back to Gopbhum. They now utterly repudiate connection with the Goala, and with the profession of cowherding or milking. Though they must have been Gops before they were Sadgop, and though Gopbhum is more pastoral than agricultural, they assert that they were the lords, not the attendants, of cattle, and the only profession they acknowledge for themselves is agriculture. They actually stand at the head of the Bengal agricultural castes, but their pretension to head the *Nabasakh*, or nine chief Sudra castes, who interchange the *hukah*, is contested by the Telis. The Sadgop, nevertheless, pretend to rank with the Kayastha, and, like them, take the surname Ghosh, which is borne, too, by some Goalas. They have not yet, however, like some of the Bengal Kayasthas, claimed Kshatriyahood, in the sense that it is now being claimed, as merely the next rank to the Brahmans. Nor can they be thought quite analogous to the Kayasthas in view of the infinitely wider diffusion, purer Aryan blood, and known antiquity of the latter. The closest actual analogues that I can find to them are the Aguri, whose formation and recentness are known. But the conclusion that the Brahmans have had much to do with the Sadgop is irresistible. In no other way can the large mixture of Aryan blood, as shown by the occurrence among the Sadgop of so many individuals with the large bones, fine frames, aquiline features, and carriage of the Brahmans, be accounted for. The only Aryans concerned, in the small locality concerned, must have been the Brahmans or the Kayastha. If the latter, we can know from other instances that the status of the Sadgop could not be so high as it is. In this view, the Bhuinhar would be an almost perfect analogue to the Sadgop. The Bhuinhar story, which has received general credence among the Hindus, is that the Brahmans on the Nepal border, being unaccompanied by their own wives, formed unions with the women of their Chhatri companions; and that from these has risen the Bhuinhar caste which is found in limits little larger than those of the Sadgop, with

its name of Babhan and its status above the Chhatri, and next only to the Brahmans themselves, and finally, its dynasties of Betia, Sûr, Benares and Dumraon. The first Brahmans in Western Bengal must have been similarly circumstanced. In a country like Gopbhum, their largest class of servants or attendants must have been cowherds and milkmen. The conjecture that the Sadgop have sprung from Brahmans and the earlier Goalas would account for every peculiarity to be noticed among them—their Aryan blood and their high social position, their position in Gopbhum as a dynasty, and their name. Their repudiation of all connection with the modern Goala would be further accounted for by the very humble or degraded position of the latter. The Sadgop do not claim to represent even the legendary Gops or Gopis. Whether their genesis was actually in Gopbhum, or Gopbhum took its name from them, is immaterial.

3. The Goala of Bengal are an exceedingly mixed, low, and more or less degraded caste. There are over 40,000 of them in the Burdwan district; but, as they differ in no way from the other Goala of Bengal, I did not particularly notice them. Nor can the enumeration be relied on as correct, for Goala is now a professional name, and the cowherd or milkman may be a member of a still lower caste. They are below even the Ahir of Hindustan, and far below the Goala of Orissa, who come next to the Khandaits, the Oriya Kshatriya, in the social scale, and claim to represent the Gops of Krishna's time. The Bengal Goala live in separate quarters on the outskirts of the villages, like the Doms and Muchis. Types of Ayran physique are occasionally seen among them, but, on the fringes of the jungle country as far as the south of Gaya, they appear to be chiefly aboriginal. In these tracts they called themselves Gayla, not Goala, and are found with buffaloes rather than cows. In the Jamtara subdivision, which touches Burdwan, I remember their proving in a civil case that they had the custom of *sengâ* or widow marriage. The Orissa Goala pronounce them to be mere Chuars. Though, like the Sadgop and the Kayastha, they sometimes bear the surname Ghosh, they make no pretensions to connection with the Sadgop, whose claims to rank they acknowledge, nor to admission among the Sudra *Nabasakh*, or nine chief Sudra castes, nor, at least as regards the great majority of the caste, even to represents the Gops of old. Whatever the original Goala of Bengal were—probably Ahir attendants of the Brahmans and Kayasthas—the present degraded state of the caste is no doubt due to its having assimilated, perhaps from professional exigencies, so many of the pastoral aborigines. Its original status, however, has prevented its falling so low as a comparatively unmixed

Hinduized Dravidian tribe like the Bagdi.* Occasionally a Bengal Goala may be met with in the position of a *gomashta*, or even village school-master. It has been asked if the Aguri might not have sprung from the Goala. As, however, not only the Aguri themselves, but the Khetri and the Sadgop, as well as their other Hindu neighbours, agree in their account of the origin and modern formation of this purely local caste—an account which its position, the geography, and other circumstances corroborate—I find no basis for entertaining this idea. The case of the Aguri is a valuable one in caste enquiries in Bengal, where castes are so multiplied and sometimes so inexplicable, because the caste is so respectable, its formation so recent, and its origin so well verified.

* Mr. John Boxwell's note on this is "may we not generalize? The Bagdi are modern Sudra, that is, alien brought under Brahmanism; the Goala alien blood is ancient." These few words give, or at least suggest, the whole history of the connection of the Sudra myriads of India, partly Ayran or wholly non-Ayran, with Brahmanism.

Appendix II.

Page 4.—The Katauri, "never daring to call themselves Kshatrias, were found with the name of Kshatauri, or Katauri, as the nearest permissible approach to it."

A friendly critic doubts the correctness of this, and writes—"I believe Khetri, Khatri, Chhatri, Khetauri, to be all forms of Kshatriaya produced by phonetic decay. What accident made each group of people call themselves by any one of the names, I do not think we can tell. If the theory about the origin of the Khetauris is right, I should think it a great deal more likely that when they began to claim Rajput connection they adopted an *already existing development* of the Kshatriya title, rather than that they deliberately coined a word to resemble Kshatriya." There are only three groups of people to consider—the purely local Katauri or Khetauri, the now widely diffused but originally local Khetri or Khatri, and the congeries of castes and tribes still better known as Chhatri or Rajput.

2. Regarding the origin of the Katauri I have no doubt. They have only to be compared with the Mālér, who claim them as relatives and protectors, and whom they half admit to be relatives and wholly claim as dependents, and on the other hand to be compared with any of the Ayran races claiming Kshatriyahood, whether Rajputs, Chhatris, or Khetris, for any doubt on the subject of which race they belong to by origin, to disappear. It is to be remembered that they are found in no part of India except what used to be, till 1855, South Bhagalpur; that is, the region round

about the Mandar hill, where they lie side by side with the Mălér. If confirmation was wanted, the traditions of the two peoples and of their neighbours afford it. The Khetris, on the other hand, are next to the Brahmans, the most widely diffused race or caste in India. I do not advance what I have said about the origin of the Katauri as *a theory*, but as the *finding* on the question whether the account given by their chiefs and the Brahman dependents of their chiefs is true, or that given by the Katauri tribesmen themselves, by their Mălér relatives, and finally, by their Rajput and Brahman neighbours is true. The latter is confirmed by every circumstance, physical, physiological, and geographical. The very fact of a Hindu race claiming an autochthonous origin, and repudiating the higher pretensions of solar descent, is *á priori* evidence. The first clue on the subject was given to me by the late Gopi Lal Pande, titular Raja of Pakour, or *pargana* Ambar, who claimed, and whose ancestors exercised, sovereignty over all the Sauria Mălér of *Tappah* Saurpal (*vide* pages 6, 7). His account was confirmed by the two nearest Rajput Chiefs, the late Maharaja Gopal Singh of Sultanabad (*vide* page 6), and the late Maharaja Sir Jay Mangal Sing of Gidhaur. The latter's kinsman, the present Raja of Khaira, is full of information on the subject, and tells the same tale.

3. As regards the name Katauri, I got my theory in the following way. In the Barkop case (*vide* page 9), the plaintiffs said that they were Kshatriyas of solar race, governed by the Maithili law, and that their local name, Ketŭri or Kshetŭri, was the mere local change from Kshatriya or Chhatri, just as locally Lachman became Lakhman and Lachmi, Lakshmi, that is, Lakhi. The defendants said that they were Katauris, not Ketŭris, that they were autochthons, and had nothing to do with the solar race or the Kshatriyas or Chhatris, and that the *pronunciation Ketŭri was affected only by those who wished for a Kshatriya status and claimed a Kshatriya origin.* As a matter of fact, Lachman, in that locality, does not harden into Lakhman. The precise reverse is the case. The tendency is to soften, not to harden, and the adjoining kingdom, or *pargana* Lachmipur, is never called Lakshmipur; nor, what is still more to the point, are the local* Rajputs ever called Kshatri, but always Chhatri.

* Local Rajputs. Mount Mandâr is now in the possession of a Rajput family, who, however, have acquired it by purchase from, or in default by, Katauri predecessors. But the Rajput families of Khaira and Gidhaur, to the latter of which Sir Jay Mangal Sing belonged, say that they represent the first Kshatriya invaders of the great Jharkhand, or forest land.

4. This was the first time I had ever heard of a caste name being deliberately coined to resemble another caste name (for the Barkop defendants did not attempt to account for

their word Katauri, any more than they did for their Hinduism, which, notwithstanding that they were autochthons, they said had been perpetual); but other instances of a parallel use of similarity of name began thenceforward to attract my attention. Not that I can surmise that a name has been deliberately coined; but it can be seen that, however the name arose, its resemblance in sound, appearance, or meaning is traded on. Every member of a very low caste will do all he can to avoid using the ordinary name of his caste, while many go much further and assume names to connection with which they have the most dubious pretensions. A Chamar, if asked what his caste is, will answer "Jashwar;" a Dosadh, "Bchelia." Again a Bhuiya, if in the humblest position, will answer, "Ghatwal;" and, if a little higher placed, either "Raghubansi" or "Surajbansi." But a Bhuinhar, if he thinks his interlocutor does not know much about it, will unhesitatingly say that he is a Brahman. He may add, "that is to say a *zamindari* Brahman;" but will not do so unless he knows that exposure is certain. If there is a bystander, he will say that he is a Babhan. I know of no way of accounting for this word Babhan except by its resemblance to Brahman, a resemblance which in Bihar and the Benares province, where the Bhuinhars are found, becomes very strong, owing to the local habit of calling Brahman, Bahman. In the same way, a Tili will unhesitatingly say that he is a Teli unless he knows that he will be exposed. Very few English people know that the Kasimbazar family are not Telis but Tilis. The word Tili certainly means a person who has to do with (*til sesamum*), but I can only account for its adoption by the resemblance theory. The Burdwan district affords another instance in the numerous Chândâl caste. Nothing will induce a member of it to pronounce the name Chândâl which their neighbours use freely. These peoples, when asked what their caste is, invariably answer Kotal. Now the most honourable profession amongst them is that of rural watchman, from recent times called *chaukidar*. These watchmen used to be subordinate to the Kotwâls, and the Burdwan district is still dotted over with little kotwâli stations to which these men were attached. They can pronounce the high-sounding "Kôtwâl" perfectly well, but, like the Bhuinhars and the Tilis, and as I think like the Katauris and even the Khetris in past times, they do not dare to assume the full word. It is acknowledged by them and their neighbours that Kotal stands for Kotwâl, just as their local pronunciation Chandal stands for Chândâl.

5. There are a great many instances of aboriginal races who claim the status of Rajputs, but apparently dare not take the full name. The most prominent are the Kochh of Kockh

Bihar and North-East Bengal. They stop at Rajbansi. The hill people of the east coast and Vizianagram, as well as the Rajwars of Bengal, only go so far as Rajwar. The Mâl Paharia take the name Kumar Bhâg. Kumar is a synonym for Rajput. But the Khetris, who are found in almost equal strength and purity in the Punjab, in the Carnatic, and the Konkan as in Marwar, afford, I believe, the most prominent instance of the name resemblance.

6. Of the Aryan races *Kshatriyatwa** was only claimed by the Rajputs or Chhatris, till the Khetris, and later the Kayasths of Bengal pretended to it. I do not count the Khandaits of Orissa, whose position and pretensions much more resemble those of the Kochh. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the Khetri claim is solely made with prominence and positiveness by the house of Burdwan, which is the only Khetri family that has attained such a position. Brahman opinion on the subject is worthless. The Brahmans are of pure descent themselves, and quite careless of the pretensions of all other castes to the various inferior ranks. In Orissa they are found ready to raise individual Mahantis or members of the Karan or writer caste, to Kshatriyahood by making them Khandaits. The Udaypur Rajputs are acknowledged to be the purest representatives of Kshatriyahood. They and all Rajputs treat the Khetri pretensions with scorn, and say that the Khetri are a mixed Vaisya caste, whose profession is trade and finance. A very large number of the Calcutta brokers and traders, indiscriminately called Marwaris by the Europeans, are Khetris; chief among them is Babu Jagannath Khanna, "the rich Marwari." Todarmal was a Khetri. So were the famous Sets of Murshidabad. I cannot find that any of those persons positively claimed Kshatriyahood.

* *Kshatriyatwa* was the old thing. Kshatriyahood, or next highest rank to the Brahmans, is the modern thing.

7. The recent Burdwan case was significant on this subject. The Maharani's plaint ran: "We are Kshatriyas and twice-born, and therefore *Mitakshara* must be our law." The defence statement which, as the Maharaj Kumar's guardian, I signed and attested, ran—"Though Kshatriya and twice-born, we belong to those Kshatriyas called Khetri, and as such have our gentile-law." But *Mitakshara* governs all Kshatriyas. The utmost that the Burdwan house can pretend is that it is of those Kshatriya who are not Kshatriya but Khetri, and except it, I know of no Khetris who claim quite so much. The fullest account of them which I have seen is in a paper written by Sir George Campbell, I think for the Asiatic Society, which I read in 1872. He says they are a purely trader and therefore Vaisya caste. The Burdwan Khetris think that their name is derived from *kshetra*, a battle-field. This is another of the too obvious

derivations. While it is impossible to pronounce that they deliberately coined the name to resemble Kshatriya, I still think that till lately they did not dare to call themselves by the full and unmistakeable word Kshatriya or Chhatri. In fact this is all that can be said of the Katauri, or of any of the instances quoted. How the names first arose it is impossible to tell. There is no reason to doubt the Bhuinhar's account of themselves that the caste has sprung from Brahman fathers. Very possibly the name Babhan was allowed them by the Brahmans as one of these half acknowledgments so often met with in caste enquiries of paternity. Similarly the Rajput Kshatriyas who formed alliances with the lowland Mâlér Kings or Chiefs, may, on the adoption of Hinduism by the latter, have allowed them the name of Keturi or Katauri, that is of Kshatriya with a difference. What the Telis connection with the Tilis was, I do not yet know, but it is certain that the old Burdwan kotwals allowed their chândâl *paiks* or watchmen to call themslves kôtăl, while they would not have tolerated the assumption of the fully pronounced title kôtwal.

8. Of this last example, the Katauri afford what seems to be possibly a further instance. The old title of their Chiefs was Barm. It is still held by the Patsanda Chief, and was retained by the Barkop family till the litigation of 1879. The more prominent and important Rajas of Manihari and Hendue had changed it some time before for the newer and fashionable affix Sing. The new sharers in Barkop call themselves Sing. Barm, beyond doubt, stands for Barman, armour, the title which all Kshatriya may assume. The modern Khetri take it in full, and the word Barman is displacing their old class names Khanna, Kapur, Nandi, and Set. Mr. John Boxwell thinks that Barm is undoubtedly the archaic from of phonetic decay, like Indur for Indrapura, Bourke for De Burgho, palsy for paralysis, and hundreds of other examples. The peculiarity of these instances is that the decayed forms and the original forms co-exist, and, even if the original forms are revivals, have co-existed for a long time. Now-a-days, when there is nothing to restrain their doing so, the original form is boldly taken by aspirants to its use. But a century ago such a challenge might or would have been seriously accepted, and therefore it is that I think that such doubtful pretenders as the Katauri are found with decayed form.

Note 1.—Regarding the Khetri claim to be Kshatriya, Mr. John Boxwell writes: "Here a most interesting question comes up. Among the ancient mixed castes in Manu is the Ksattr, nominative Ksattā. The name means divider. It occurs in this sense in the Rigveda. In Manu Ksattā is son of a Cūdra man and Ksatriya woman. There is

no connection between the words Ksattr, carver from Ksad, to carve, and Ksattriya, leader, from Ksatra, sovereignty, and that from Ksi, Ksā, to dwell. But both would turn into Khattri; and nothing is more likely than that descendants of the low Ksattr, become rich, would pretend to be Ksatriya. I used to wonder whether these Panjabi trading Khattris (the Khetri) were real Ksattr or not. But I am quite sure that the modern word Khattri, whether really derived or not from Ksattr, has been affiliated to Kshatriya."

So, regarding the Rajput contempt for the modern Khetri claim, he adds: "They may have found this in Manu, and actually declared the Khetri to be Ksattr."

PREFACE

TO THE

EXPLANATORY INDEX

TO

SOME HISTORICAL AND ETHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE BURDWAN DISTRICT.

When writing up the district note-book before leaving Burdwan in 1889, I began to make some entries about those places in the district which had been identified as mentioned by the Greek geographers, and also about the Bagdi race and the Sadgop and Aguri castes, whose greatest prevalence is in Burdwan. The remarks developed into a note into which comparisons deduced from observations elsewhere were introduced, and it was printed by the Bengal Government, and I have been desired to frame an index for it.

2. The note set forth with distinctness only those local points which were in view when it was begun. The other comparisons and instances were introduced without any attempt at order, and mainly by way of allusion. They refer to some facts and several theories and opinions which have either not been put forward before, or rest on no recorded acceptance, whether general or authoritative. When framing the index, therefore, I have taken the opportunity to set down these points to which scattered allusions are made throughout the note, in the form of distinct propositions, under the heads most concerned by them, alphabetically arranged. The allusions in the text being thus explained by these propositions, the index is a supplement which completes the little treatise. It has been used at the same time to correct some errors in the text, in the way of which Dumraon and Kalinga are instances.

3. "Anga, Banga, Kalinga," a common school jingle, popularly means that the ethnical country, Bengal, is next to Anga, with Kalinga immediately below or beyond it. The histories somewhat summarily define Anga as the present Monghyr district, or as East Bihar, with Champa or Champanagar, now a suburb of Bhagalpur, as its capital. A far wider definition is that given by the couplet quoted in the Shabdakalpadruma, "From Baidyanath to Bhubanesh. O Siva, all the land called Anga does not pollute in traversing it." According to this, Anga would comprise what Hunter calls "the Debateable Land" and "the Great Western Forest," and what the old Bengal records vaguely allude to as the great Jharkhand. That is, it was the belt of forest and rolling country beginning at Monghyr and Bhagalpur, which separated Banga or indisputable Bengal from Magadha or Bihar, and Kalinga from the Andhra country or Nagpur. It was the boundary of, or barrier against, all earlier Aryan invasions, whether of Puranic Kshatriyas or more historic Rajputs. Brahmans and Kayasthas, with their attendant menials and artificers, had penetrated or got round and behind it, but they must have come either as missionaries or colonists, and the first permanent conquests from the west were those of the Pathans. Thus, in Bengal, there is no Rajput dynasty or chief of note. The only conspicuous Rajput families are those of Khaira and Gidhaur, and of Sultanabad, all in Anga itself. On the other hand, Bengal presents the phenomenon of great Brahman houses and temporalities, even of kingdoms like those of Nadia and Pakour, or Ambar; of the vastest *zamindari* in India as Rajshahi was in the last century, held by a Brahman family, their example reacting westwards with the great domains of Darbhanga as the chief instance. An instance of another kind, but with the same tendency, is that of the princely house of Burdwan, founded by Aryan Khatris from the Panjab in the seventeenth century. Finally, the Chiefs who occupy the border land itself are found to be either nearly or entirely aboriginal, excepting the Pathan Rajas of Kharakpur and Birbhum,

whose invasions and establishment were so recent. The rest are the Katauri Rajas of *parganas* Bhagalpur and Kharakpur; the long line of the negritic Bhuiyas' dynasties, from Lachmipur in the north to their original seat Keonjhar; the dubious though non-Aryan Kshatriyas, so called, of whom the Rajas of Panchkot or Pachet, and of Mohurbhanj, and the Chief of the Bagdi, whose ancestors held the great dominion of Bishtupur, are the principal instances. With them may, as regards their share of Aryan blood, be compared the great and historic dynasties of Kuch Bihar and of Hill Tippera in the far east.

4. With Anga so defined, while its west face is part of Hindustan, its eastern face undoubtedly belongs where it borders Bengal to Bengal Proper. It embraces the whole district Sonthal Parganas, the west of Birbhum and of the Burdwan district, including *pargana* Gopbhum (the birthplace of the Sadgop and the Aguri), and the greater part of the Bankura district. It is in this Anga that my theme chiefly lies, and to it that most of my instances belong.

5. The main conclusions and conjectures arrived at, in the note and index are these:—

(i) The words Malli, Suaræ, Suari, or Sabaræ, used as interchangeable terms by the Greeks, refer to the names Sauria Mălér by which the non-Hindu hillmen of the northern Rajmahal Hills still call themselves.

(ii) These Sauria Mălér are the unadulterated remnant of the Mál or Saurian race of Bengal Developed from them are the isolated Katauri on the west, with their high Hindu status, and the Mál Paharia on the south, with similar claims but no such recognition, who merge into the Naiya or Pujahar, the Maulik, and the Mál of the plains. Close kinsmen of the Sauria Mălér are the non-Hindu Oraon, who preserve the same tongue, and the Sabar, Savar, or Saur, who are Hinduised like the Mál Paharia.

(iii) The Mandár hill is the Mons Mallus of the ancients the term Mandali used by them as a synonym for Malli, being, perhaps, thus explained. Since Mallus was Mandár, the site of Palibothra cannot be Bhagalpur, and must be to the west. No doubt it is Patna.

(iv) The Bagdi are apparently the section of the Mál race, who were formally received within the fold of Hinduism because they were required in the new Hindu settlements, which were not founded on conquest.

(v) The adhesion of the Mál, still so called, to Hinduism is recent and from motives of self-interest, and is not recognized by the Hindus because not at all required by them.

6. The foregoing give strong support to the conjecture, put forward by Mr. Beverley and others, that the rest of the great Mál race in the plains of Bengal is represented by the Chándál, whether Kotal, Namasudra, or however called. They, it is known, were conquered by the Hindus of Bengal, and therefore their position in the Hindu system of Bengal is between that of the Bagdi, who were sought as converts, and the Mál whose voluntary adhesion is still ignored. The conquered helots were either admitted, or suffered or compelled to conform, with that name of reproach which has now become intolerable to them.

CHITTAGONG, W. B. OLDHAM.

The 20th October 1893.

INDEX.

A.

PAGE.

AGURI—
The—caste 1
Recent formation from unions between the Burdwan Khetri and the Sadgop . . . . . 18—28
Similar unions in like conditions common . . . . ,,
Region of prevalence and reasons for . . . . ,,
High social position and reasons for . . . . ,,
In *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, the Aguri are said to be very numerous in Western Bengal, and popularly believed to be the modern representatives of the Ugra Kshatriyas mentioned in *Manu* X, 9; "From a Kshatriya by a Sudra girl is born a creature called an Ugra" (cruel). The same article shows that just under 80,000 Aguri were enumerated in 1881, and that in 1872 they were almost peculiar to the territories of the Burdwan Raj, and in 1881 little more diffused. So the history of their origin given by me can be read between the lines, for the Burdwan Khetri could have been the only Kshatriya concerned in a development which appeared in a single estate down in Bengal, though the text which accounts for it is over 1,800 years old, and belongs to the Panjab. The Burdwan Brahmans readily found the text, when, for the reasons given, it was necessary to assign a particular status to these new families. The case well illustrates one of the instances in which folk-lore is most valuable, that is, when it is the story told, not by the caste concerned, but by the neighbours of that caste who are affected by its position and claims . . . . . ,,

AHIR—
The—caste 27
Are the Goala of Hindustan . . . . . ,,
Compared with the Goala of Bengal . . . . ,,
Connection with them repudiated by the Sadgop . . 26

AJAY—
The river 1
Factor in the formation of the deltaic part of Burdwan . . ,,
Identified as the Amystis of Arrian 2
Derivation Ajavati, not A-ajaya, "unconquered" as said by Hunter . . . . . ,,
Lined with forts, because the only route through the forest land 3

AMBAR—
A *pargana* of that part of the old Rajshahi district which is now the Murshidabad district, transferred at Cleveland's instance to the Bhagalpur district in 1781, and now one of the Santal Parganas 9
Sometimes called Pakur or Pakaur after its capital . . 26
Extended into the hills and embraced the Sauria Mälér hill, *tappah* Saurpal or Sumarpal, *q.v.* 10
An instance of the phenomenon of a Brahman Raj or temporality peculiar to Lower Bengal . . . . . Preface ii.

AMRARGARH—A village close to Mankar railway station in Burdwan, where are the remains of the Gopbhum Raja's fortifications and town. The old capital of Gopbhum . 18

AMYSTIS—*v.* Ajay 2

ANDOMATIS—*v.* Damodar . . . . . ,,

ANGA—One of the old geographical or territorial divisions of Northern India, variously identified as the modern Monghyr district, or as East Bihar, or preferably as the forest country dividing Lower Bengal (Banga) and Orissa (Kalinga) from Bihar (Magadha) and the Central Provinces (Andhra) respectively . . . . . Preface ii.

B.

	PAGE.
BABHAN—	
The—caste; a mixed and comparatively recent caste of high position, almost peculiar to the Benares Province and Bihar	30
Also called Bhuinhar by others	"
Its members call themselves "Brahman," that is landholding "Brahman," but never Bhuinhar	"
Prone to trade on the resemblance of the word Babhan to the local pronunciation of Brahman	"
Their own story of their origin	26—32
Families of Betia, Benares, Hatúa, and Sheohar	27
BADSHAHI ROAD—The great road from Rajmahal or from Gaur to Midnapore, 150 cubits broad, with mosques and great tanks at every eight miles, the best preserved remains of which are in Burdwán and Birbhum	20
BAGDI—	
The—race, tribe or caste	1
Region of their prevalance, Bagdi-land	3
First aboriginal section brought within the pale of Hinduism	2
Possibly the Gangaridæ or Gangarides of the Greek geographers	2—14
Bishtupur, the capital of the Bagdi realm, and the Bishtupur family, their traditional kings	15
Connection of the Bagdi with the Mál race, and subordination of the Mál to the Bishtupur realm	5—11—15
Other aboriginals who adopt Hinduism, taking the name and status of Bagdi	16
Social position	1
Dravidian characteristics	21
BAHELIA—The name given by the Dosadh when asked to what caste they belong	30
BAIDYANATH—Marks the position of Anga (*v.* Deoghar.)	Preface ii.
BAIGUNIA—A village in *pargana* Kantanagar, Burdwan, at the Barakar bridge, which contains some beautiful stone remains. At Baiguuia is also the Barakar railway station, and it is generally called Barakar by the English	3
BANKURA—Properly Bankunda, a modern district formed from part of West Burdwan and part of the Jungle Mahals. It contains Bishtupur (*q. v.*), and the greater part of the old Bishtupur realm	"
BAORI—	
The—race, tribe or caste. Region of their prevalence. Baori land	2
Identified as a section of the Uberræ of Megasthenes	"
Their settlement of later date than that of the Bagdi	3
Low social position and broken character compared with the Bagdi	5
Not recognized as Hindus	2
Affinities with Haris and non-Hindu aboriginals	5
Exhibit in an extreme form political characteristics of Dravidians found in Bengal	23
BARAKHAR—Pronounced by the English Barrakkar, a river of Chota Nagpur, part of the western boundary of the modern Burdwan district, *v.* Baigunia	3—4
BARKOP—	
A *tappah* of *pargana* Bhagalpur, and one of the Santal Parganas	7
One of the four Katauri chiefships sprung from Manihari (*v.* Manihari, and *cf.* Patsanda, Usila, Hendue.)	"
Subject of litigation in 1878-79, which exemplified Katauri claims to be Kshatriya of solar race governed by Maithili law, or to be autochthonous governed by their own local law	13—29
Departed from the custom of primogeniture followed by the other Katauri chiefs	7
BARM—	
Affix or title used by the Katauri chiefs, now only retained by the Chief of Patsanda	32
Evidently represents the Sanskrit Barman, armour, *q. v.*	"
May be either an example of phonetic decay, or of an approach in form and sound to avoid the challenge involved by the full form *v.* Names	"

PAGE.

BARMAN—
The Sanskrit for armour 32
A title which may be assumed by all Kshatriya . . . . ,,
Instances of the modern assumption by the Burdwan Khatri, the Hill Tipera family, and other recent claimants to Kshatriyahood . . . . . ,,

BELPATTA—
A huge *tappah* of the Pathan Raj of Birbhum, now one of the Santal Parganas 10
Transferred from Birbhum to Bhagalpur in 1781 at Cleveland's instance to complete his system of protecting hillmen . *v.* Cleveland.
Was included in Cleveland's Daman-i-koh, but was for the greater part severed from it by Mr. J. P. Ward between 1826 and 1833 . . . . . *v.* Ward.
Contains the hill *tappahs* Marpal and Danrpal, still in the Daman-i-koh 10
Contains the Mál state Sankara 13
And large ranges of hills to the south held by Paharias (Mál) who have disappeared since Mr. Ward's proceedings . . 14

BENARES— } Instances of Babhan or Bhuinhar dynasties . . 27
BETIA— }

BHAGALPUR—One of the largest of the Santal Parganas. It lies south-east of Bhagalpur town and subtends the west face of the Rajmahal Hills, and is the chief area of the Katauri chieftaincies and race 7

BHARATPUR—A part of Gopbhum, held by a cadet branch of that dynasty conquered by Muhammadan partisans and now called *pargana* Salimpur, *cf.* Kaksa 19

BHAR—An aboriginal tribe of Bihar, perhaps connected with the Baori 5

BHUINHAR—Means landholder; a name of the Babhan caste by which they do not call themselves, *v.* Babhan 30

BHUIYA—
A great Dravidian tribe affecting Hinduism, and comprising many important Rajas, chiefs, and landholders, diffused from Keonjhar, their chief seat, as far north as Lachmipur in Bhagalpur, and southward till they merge in the Boya of the Madras Presidency 12
Their incursion into the North in the XVIth century, and conquests 7
Founded the State of Lachmipur, obliterating the Katauri Chiefship Usila (*q. v.*) . . . . . ,,
Occupy *tappah* Sarath Deoghar . . . . . *v.* Sarath Deoghar.
Compromised with by the Rajas of Birbhum, and appointed Ghatwals . . . . . ,,
Their chiefs claim solar descent, and, with confusion, style themselves "Surajbansi Rajputs," in contrast with their negritic physique and features 8
The Pathan States, Birbhum and Kharakpur, founded on the ruins caused by their incursion 7
The title *Ghatwal* assumed by the clansmen as a caste appellation 30
Dravidian characteristics, either monarchic or anarchic . . 22
Classed among the Chuar by Hindus 8
Sanskrit derivation of their name 12

BIRBHUM—
A Pathan sovereignty founded in or about A.D. 1600 on the ruins caused by the Bhuiya invasion of the preceding century 7
Its troublesome Bhuiya occupants converted into *Ghatwals* . ,,
Contains part of the Burdwan Raja, Chitra Sen's, *pargana* Senpahari 19
Intersected by the Bagdi realm, Bishtupur 17
Treatment of Paharias in— 23
Embraced in the Burdwan of A.D. 1760 3
Had encroached on the debateable *pargana* Shergarh . . 4
Comprised *tappahs* Belpatta (*q. v.*), Sarath-Deoghar (*q. v.*) and others which are now some of the Santal Parganas . 14
Was one of the great estates from part of which Cleveland formed his Daman-i koh (*q. v.*) 13

PAGE.

BISHTUPUR—

Vishnupur, or in English Bissenpur, a town with ruined fortifications on the Dwarkeshwar or Rupnarain river in Bankura, the capital of an ancient and extensive dominion which survived till after the British accession, and of a dynasty claimed by the Bagdi and the Mál to be their kings and blood relations . . . . . 11—13
Conquered by the Rajas of Burdwan 3
Its old dominions extended up to the Mál Paharia country of Birbhum and the modern Daman-i-koh 11
Gobbhum formed from or under it 17
Its Rajas, though of aboriginal stock, claimed to be Kshatriya Preface ii.
Their hereditary title "Malla," and conjecture regarding it . 12
Was possibly, instead of Burdwan, the Parthalis of the Greek geographers 15

BOURK—For de Burgho—*v.* Names. (Bourk is thought a parallel instance because while all the Celtic dependents of the de Burghos called themselves Bourk, they would not have dared to call themselves de Burgho. The revolted de Burghos again called themselves Bourk when they assumed the yellow shirt and Irish (Celtic) nationality. The Power (De la Poer) clan is another parallel) 32

BOYA—The, of Southern India, probably the Bhuiya of Bengal, *v.* Bhuiya. For the loss of the aspirate *v.* Khatauri . . 24

BOXWELL—

The late Mr. John—, C.S. His note on the Sadgop . . 26
On modern Sudra and ancient Sudra 28
On the derivation of Khatri or Khetri 32

BUNA—

Colloquial of Banya or Sylvan, the name applied to the aboriginals who were brought to work on indigo plantations in Bengal 16
Their adoption of the status of Bagdi, with a difference on assuming Hinduism, and parallel drawn therefrom. (For the pronunciation *cf.* Shooshee for Shashi, Jalpaiguri for Jalpaigarhi, and many other instances) . . . . . ,,

BURDWAN—

The English spelling and pronunciation of the Bengali and Hindi Barddhamân, Sanskrit Varddhamâna, meaning increasing 2
Identified by de St. Martin as the Parthalis or Partalis of the Greek geographers . . . . . ,,
The district or province, one of the three first ceded to the English in 1760 . . . . . ,,
At that time included the modern district Hooghly, and the domains of the Rajas of Chitwa in Midnapore, of Bishtupur, of Birbhum, and of Panchkot or Pachet, and through the latter was supposed to extend to the Bombay Presidency* . ,,
Modern district of 1
Embraces part of Anga . . . . . Preface iii.
Its Rajas 18

C.

CAMPBELL—The late Sir George—His note on the Khatri or Khetri caste. (The Ethnology of India, Asiatic Society's Journal 1866) . . . . . .

CHAITANYA—Memorials of—on the right bank of the Ajay to its confluence with the Bhagirathi, and then on the right bank of the latter 24

CHAMAR—Call themselves Jashwar; parallel from . . . 30

CHAMPA—The old capital of ANGA identified with Bhagalpur . Preface ii.

CHAMPANAGAR—A suburb of Bhagalpur . . . . . ,,

CHANDAL—

Conjectures as to their origin 17
Their avoidance of their name 30

* Mr. Sa ishtadar Grant quoted in the famous Fifth Report of 1812.

	PAGE.
CHANDAL—*concluded.*	
In Burdwan call themselves Kotāl, as they do Nama Sudra in East Bengal	30
The name Kōtāl explained, and parallel drawn from their adoption of it (*v.* Kōtāl.)	"
CHHATRI—	
The soft pronunciation of Kshatriya	29
Used as a synonym for Rajput by some	"
Assumed as a caste appellation by some	"
Never used by the Khatri or Khetri	*v.* Khatri.
Claimed by the Barkop new Katauri as synonymous with Katauri	29
CHILMILI The Mālér and Mál rendering of Cleveland	13
CHITRA SEN RAI—	
The first head of the house of Burdwan to whom the title of Raja was given, 1740 to 1744	19
Consolidated the conquest of Gopbhum and built his great fort Rajgarh therein	"
Conquered Birbhum, Bishtupur, and Panchkot	"
To dominate them formed *pargana* Senpahari from portions of them and of Gopbhum, with its forest plateau	"
His seven cannon, engraved with his name in Persian, lie there to this day	"
CHITUA—A state in what is now the Midnapore district which attacked Burdwan, and was finally conquered and annexed by it, forming its possessions in Midnapore	3
CHUAR—A Bengali and low Hindi word meaning brigand. The name applied indiscriminately by the Hindus of Bengal to the black snub-nosed races who made occasional incursions on them from the western forests	2—4
CHURULIA—A village lying round a ruined stone fort on the Ajay in *pargana* Shergarh. The village is occupied by Muhammadan *aimadars*, who have built their houses and mosques from the stones of the fort. They have no tradition of how they came there. The fort is said to be Raja Narottam's, but nothing is known about him. It probably belonged to Panchkot, which still has lands in the vicinity	3
CLEVELAND—Augustus—, a very young Civil Servant, who in 1779 became Collector of Bhagalpur and succeeded Captain James Browne in charge of the Rajmahal Hills. To protect the hillmen he formed the Government Estate Daman-i-koh, by taking the hill tracts out of the *zamindaris* to which they belonged. To complete it, he got *parganas* Ambar and Sultanabad from the old district Rajshahi, and *tappah* Belpatta from Birbhum transferred to him. He appointed stipends for the chiefs, made the hillmen absolutely rent-free, and raised a local corps, the whole costing Rs. 55,000 *sicca* yearly, which he recouped by an additional assessment on the plains. He gave the hillmen a code for holding trials, and immunity from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. He did not know the difference between the Mālér and the Mál, and was not acquainted with the south of the Daman-i-koh. So he appointed stipends to the Sankara hills, though they were a regular *taluk*, and to Sundardibi, though it was outside his new *tappah* Belpatta. His measures went beyond what the circumstances required, and were much more generous than just	13
Called by the Mālér and Mál Chilmili	"
Still marks the earliest epoch of the Mālér	"
COLGONG—English for Khalganw (*q.v.*), a town near Bhagalpur	"
CONTOO BABOO—English for Kanta Babu (*q.v.*)	4
COSSYE—English for Kansabati (*q.v.*), a river of Midnapore and Chota Nagpur The name is sometimes pronounced so as to resemble the sound of Cossye	2
CUDRA—*v.* Mr. Boxwell's note on the Khatri or Khetri	32
CUTWA—The English for Katwa *q.v.*	2

D.

PAGE.

DAMAN-I-KOH*—
A Persian combination meaning the skirts of the hills. First applied to the Government estate formed by the culturable parts of the country taken from its zamindars by Cleveland in 1780 and 1781, and then to the whole region, both hills and slopes (*v.* Cleveland and Pontet) 7
As formed by Cleveland, curtailed by Mr. Ward between 1823 and 1833, and demarcated by pillars 13

DAMODAR—A Sanskrit word, the name of the river on which Burdwan stands, which is identified as the Andômatis of Arrian . . . . . .

DANRPAL—
A *tappah* of the Mál in the Daman-i-koh 10
One of the parts of *tappah* Belpatta left by Mr. Ward in the Daman-i-koh. (*v.* Belpatta) . . . . . ,,
Its derivation uncertain. *v.* Pal. (As *dand* means a standing place or ambush, it may mean the hills of ambush) . . ,,

DAYABHAGA—Held by the Privy Council to govern the Mál of Sankara *q.v.* 14

DEOGHAR—The capital of *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar (*q.v.*) in which is the shrine of Baidyanath 11

DHANGAR—The name by which the members of primitive tribes in Chota Nagpur who come to work in Bengal and Bihar are indiscriminately called 12

DHANGARIA—The name used by the Mâlér and Oraon for their men of fighting or working age—the *juventus. cf.* Dhangar . ,,

DIGHI—A large tank with old stone revetments and other stone remains, apparently Katauri, in the eastern forests of *pargana* Shergarh 3

DIHI-SHERGARH—A large mud fort in *pargana* Shergarh on the Damodar. The words mean "the (main) site in Shergarh." The fort still belongs to the Panchkot Raja. *v.* Shergarh . 4

DRAVIDIAN—
From Dravida, the name of the old division of India at the extreme south-east, but loosely applied to all the Tamil country, or to all the country south of the Tungabhadra and the Kistna, or to Southern India generally . . . 23
Used in this work for those Dravidian peoples whose system is monarchic or anarchic, in contrast with the republican or communal Kolarians. (*v.* Kolarian) 17

DOM—The inexplicable—; very numerous in Burdwan . . . 25

DUMKA—
Its record-room contains the records of the Rajmahal Hills . ,,
Of the settlement confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814 *q.v.* . ,,
Of Mr. Ward's enquiries about the ghatwals of Bhagalpur. *v.* Ward . . . . . ,,

DUMRAON—A Rajput house quoted by error as a Babhan house instead of Hatua 27

E.

ERSE—Instance of its speedy extinction in a tract . . . 11

G.

GANGARIDÆ— } The race placed by the Greek geographers as
GANGARIDES— } beyond the Malli (Mâlér and Mál) to the south and east. Evidently the people of the Gangetic delta. Possibly the Bagdi 14

GAYLA—The pronunciation of Goala in Western Bengal and South Bihar 27

* The wide central valley in the north of the Daman-i-koh was not taken by Cleveland or noticed by Mr. Ward. It remained as the service land of Manihari till formally resumed and included in the Daman-i-koh by Government in 1837.

PAGE.

GHATWAL—
A word with various significations. Those referred to in this work are—
(a) The name given by the Bhuiya of Bhagalpur, the Santal Parganas, Birbhum, and parts of Chota Nagpur when asked what their caste is, because of the great Bhuiya Ghatwals of Sarath-Deoghar, often mistaken for a caste 30
(b) The holders of the great service taluks of Sarath-Deoghur, governed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, most of whom are Bhuiya 7
(c) Some minor police tenure holders in Burdwan who erroneously claim Regulation XXIX of 1814 4

GOALA—
Elided form Gopalaka, cowherd. The milkman caste of Bengal and Orissa 26
In Western Bengal very mixed and of low status, formed of old and new Sudra 27
In South Bihar called Gayla . . . . . ,,
In Orissa a comparatively superior and exclusive caste, some members of which wear the sacred thread . . . . ,,
Compare the Ahir of Hindustan . . . . . ,,

GOP— } From Gopalaka, synonym for Goala 26
GOPI— } Connection with the Gops repudiated by the Sadgop . ,,

GOPAL CHANDRA SING—The late Maharaja of Maheshpur, husband of the Rajput proprietress of Sultanabad. *q. v.* . 10

GOPBHUM—
A wood land and pastoral pargana of Burdwan, next in size to Shergarh, stood on the eastern edge of Anga . . Preface iii.
The home and place of origin of the Sadgop . . . 17—26
Part of the Bishtupur realm 17
Formed a dependent realm itself under a Sadgop dynasty . ,,
Conquered by Burdwan 19
Contained the cadet Sadgop houses of Kaksa and Bharatpur . ,,
Its capital Amrargarh 18

GOPILAL PANDE—
Father, and a predecessor of the Raja of Pakur or *pargana* Ambar (*q.v.*) 29
The first to point out the true origin and status of the Katauri.

GORANGA—Or Gauranga, The Fair-limbed, an appellation of Chaitanya 24

GORANGAPUR—
A sylvan village on the Ajay in *pargana* Senpahari, called after Chaitanya . . . . . ,,
A seat of the Rajbansi Mál 5

GORBAZAR—A village on the Ajay in *pargana* Shergarh, probably called after Chaitanya 24

H.

HADLA—A ghat police tenure belonging to Pandra in Manbhum, but in the area of Shergarh, showing the disputed character of that *pargana* 4

HARI—The scavenger caste of Bengal, said in Western Bengal to intermix with the Baori 5

HATUA—A great Babhan house in district Saran for which Dumraon has been written by error 27

HENDUR—
A vast *tappah*, now one of the Santal Parganas, the southernmost of the five Katauri chiefships. It probably once belonged, like the others, to *pargana* Bhagalpur, from which it is now separated by *pargana* Passai (*q.v.*) belonging to the Bhuiya; the separation being due to the Bhuiya incursion (*v.* Bhuiya), as Passai covers the area occupied by the Katauri Chiefship Usila, which has disappeared . . 7
Still held for the most part by a Katauri Raja, and includes a subordinate Katauri cadetship 22
Now rated as a *mukarrari* or *patni* of Kharakpur (*q.v.*) of which it was a dependency at the British accession. The fact indicates that it too had been overrun by the Bhuiya, as both Birbhum and Kharakpur rose on their joint victories over the Bhuiya 7
Still disavows and rebels against this connection . . ,,

PAGE.

HENDUE—*concluded.*

Is in Hindustan with its population speaking Hindi, while Belpatta (*q.v.*) which borders it with no physical boundary is in Bengal with its population speaking Bengali . . . . *v.* Santal Parganas.

Is, with *pargana* Passai, the only territory bordering the hills which has no part in them, because the adjacent hillmen became Mál and Hinduized, and gave themselves over to the Rajputs of Sultanabad, probably for protection from the Bhuiya. (*v.* Kumarpal and Sunarpal) 9

HO—Means The Men, the name by which the Larka Kol (*q.v.*) call themselves 12

HOR—Means The Men, the name by which the Santal (*q.v.*) call themselves . . . . . ,,

I.

ICHHAY GHOSH—

A remarkable and perfectly built brick temple, a landmark for many miles on the Ajay in *pargana* Senpahari . . 24

Supposed to be the name of the architect . . . 25

J.

JASHWAR—The name given by the Chamar when asked what their caste is. It means Glorious. *v.* Chamar 30

JHARKHAND—Means Forest tract. The name indefinitely given in the early English records to the great western forest from Mongyr to Midnapore, and so far corresponds with Anga (*q.v.*) 21

JUNGLE TERRY—Terry is for Tarai, damp forest. The name given by the English in the last century to the Jharkhand (*q.v.*) . 13

K.

KAKSA—

Elided form of Kankeshwar. The hardly distinguishable remains of a small fort at the south-west edge of Gopbhum. The name is applied to the neighbouring police-station and surrounding cluster of villages of which Panaghar railway station is one. In fact Kaksa is a town 19

One of the two minor Sadgop chiefships subordinate to the Sadgop Rajas of Gopbhum . . . . . ,,

Attacked and conquered by Sayyid Sayyid Bokhari, whose descendants hold the fort to this day . . . . . ,,

KALANGA—Means black limbed; has no connection with Kalinga as suggested in the note to page 14 14

KALINGA—The old name of the Uriya country, extending from Midnapore to the Kistna, and from the sea to the Andhra land (Ranchi and Sambalpur), and thus more comprehensive than Utkala or Orissa. *cf.* Kalanga . . . . . Preface ii.

KALLIANESHWARI—The Lady of Fulfilment, to whom there is a beautiful stone shrine under the Hadla hill at the western edge of the Burdwan district. The pilgrims are chiefly barren women 3

KANSABATI—Called by the English the Cossye (*q.v.*), supports the derivation Ajavati of Ajay 2

KANTA BABU—

Anglice Contoo Baboo. The friend, confidant, purse-keeper, and, it is said, preserver of the life of Warren Hastings . 4

The founder of the family of which Maharani Shurnomoyee, M.I.O.C.I., of Kasimbazar, is now the head 10

Hastings formed *pargana* Kantanagar from scattered fragment of estates which were unappropriated or in dispute in the Bengal and Benares Provinces, and settled it with him 4

A Burdwan Tili, not Teli, by caste. (His title was Nandi.) . 10

The first Babu in the modern acceptation of that term in Calcutta and England, and elsewhere, except Hindustan, where it means a nobleman generally the senior collateral of the Raja's family, or senior relative by marriage . . ,,

PAGE.

KATADWIPA—Probably the derivation of Katoa, or Cutwa, and what Arrian called Katadupa 2

KANTANAGAR—
An extraordinary pargana, part of which lies in the area of *pargana* Shergarh of Burdwan, part in the Ghazipur district of the Benares Province, and other parts in Northern Bengal, formed by Hastings and bestowed on Kanta Babu (*q.v.*) 4
Illustrates the debateable character of *pargana* Shergarh . ,,

KAPUR—One of the four divisions of the Khatri or Khetri caste . 32

KARAN—
The writer caste of Orissa; also called Mahanti . . . 31
Its members raised to the status of Kshatriya by local Brahmins . . . . . ,,

KARMMATANR—The place of work, a railway station in the Jamtara subdivision of the Santal Parganas 6

KARON—Near Karmmatanr. A taluk in *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar, but resumed and conferred by a Raja of Birbhum on a Mahratta Brahman whose descendants still hold it. It contains many Katauri remains, and is quoted to show how far south the Katauri extended before the Bhuiya incursion. *v.* Sarath-Deoghar . . . . . ,,

KATAURI—
Variously spelt and pronounced Kshatauri, Katori, Katūri, Keturi, and Ketūri and also with the Kh instead of the K; a peculiar Hindu caste or race claiming the status of Kshatriya, and represented by four important Rajas or Chiefs and one cadet, now only found in the Daman-i-koh and on its west face, in the four Katauri chiefships—Manihari, Patsanda and Barkop, the *tappahs* which compose *pargana* Bhagalpur; and Hendue, now a *tappah* of Kharakpur . ,,
Undistinguished from Chhatri or from Khetri in the census of 1872. In that of 1881, rated for the most part as Khetri, *v.* Khatauri. (In 1891 they seem to have been all counted as Rajputs) . . . . . ,,
Their true character as the old Hinduized and aristocratic section of the Mālér, with an admixture of Rajput blood, first pointed out in 1880 by Gopi Lal Pandi, son-in-law of the proprietress of Pakur. (*q. v.*). 29
Lay around Mount Mandar and extended as far south as Karon (*q. v.*) 6
And probably to Shergarh (*v.* Dighi) 4
Were the Malli of the Greek geographers 6
The Mālér still claim them as their kinsmen . . . ,,
Their Mālér physique and characteristics . . . 15
Their chief house, Manihari, exercised sovereignty over all the Mālér 9
Their old aristocratic section still contend that they are autochthons, governed by local law with primogeniture, and that the word Katauri has nothing to do with Kshatriya . . 13
A modern section claim that they are Kshatriya from the Panjab, having no connection with the Mālér, and that Katauri or Keturi is the local hard pronunciation of Kshatriya or Chhatri ,,
These conflicting claims explained . . . . . ,,
Actual pronunciation of the *ksh* in their territory . . 29
Actual custom of primogeniture and monarchy . . . 9
Antiquity of their Hinduism and reasons for their decay discussed. They are apparently the earliest example of an aboriginal race in Bengal affiliating itself to Hinduism with an acknowledged high social status 6
Explanation of this high status . . . . . ,,
Other later instances 8

KATOA OR KATWA—
Anglice Cutwa; in Sanskrit Katadwipa or Kantadwipa the Katadupa of Arrian, an old and still important town at the confluence of the Ajay with the Bhagirathi . . . 2
A seat of Chaitanya 24
A strong fort of Murshid Kuli Khan or Jafir Khan . . 25

KATORI—*v.* Katauri.

KAYASTHA—The—of Bengal now-a days claim Kshatriya hood . 3

PAGE.

KEONJHAR—One of the Tributary Mahals of Garhjat of Orissa, a principality of the Bhuiya and their chief seat, recently declared not to form a part of British India. The Bhuiya incursion to the north in the XVIth century is said to have come from Keonjhar as the Santal immigration of the XIXth century came from Samanta not far north of it. The Keonjhar family, who are typical negritic Bhuiya, claim to be Rajputs of solar race 12

KETORI—
KETURI OR KETURI— } *v.* Katauri.

KHADIR ALI—Raja of Kharakpur and practically the last of his line who in 1845 won in the Privy Council a celebrated appeal against the Bengal Government regarding the resumption of a *ghatwali*. . . . . (*v.* Kharakpur and Ward).

KHAIRA—
A Rajput house in the present Monghyr district in the old Katauri country, the heads of which are well aware of the status and origin of the Katauri 29
One of the very few Rajput families of position in Bengal . Preface ii.

KHALGANW—Anglice Colgong. A considerable town on the Ganges east of Bhagalpur. Beside it are some low hills which Cleveland (*q. v.*) included in his Daman-i-koh, and he appointed a set of stipends to them. These hills were, without any notice of the proceedings, cut off by Mr. Ward (*q. v.*) in 1827, though the stipends were not resumed till 1880. (*v.* Daman-i-koh) 23

KHANDAIT—
From Sanskrit Khanda, a sword; the soldier and landholding caste of Orissa claiming to be Kshatriya, and with that status locally allowed them 31
Brahmans frequently for due consideration make members of the Karan or Mahanti caste, Khandait . . . . ,,

KHANNA—One of the four divisions of the Khatri or Khetri caste . 32

KHARAKPUR—
Like the Birbhum realm, with the northern boundary of which it marched, a great principality founded about A.D. 1600 by a Pathan adventurer whose descendants had the style of Rajas, on the ruins left by the Bhuiya incursion It extended from the south of Monghyr to South Bhagalpur and the present Santal Parganas, occupying the Bhuiya Chiefship Lachmipur with its dependency *pargana* Passai (*q. v.*), and the Katauri Chiefship Hendue (*q.v.*) This was its position at the British accession, but before the permanent settlement, Lachmipur managed to get detached, though Hendue remained attached. Like Birbhum, Kharakpur was then far in decay, these two Muhammadan dominions having always excited the particular jealousy of the Bengal Viceroys, who encouraged the Burdwan house to attack and conquer Birbhum, and incited similar attacks on Kharakpur. The ruin of Kharakpur was completed by 1865, while of Birbhum a mere nominal remnant is left. Before its extinction, nevertheless, the last Raja of the house of Kharakpur inflicted in 1845 on the Bengal Government, the most serious defeat ever sustained by it in the law courts; the effects of which survive so far that a *ghatwali* is still regarded as a thing not to be touched, whether it is of the kind concerned in the suit in question or not. (*cf.* Khadir Ali and Ward) . 7
The relations between the houses of Birbhum and Kharakpur were most intimate, and they frequently intermarried. Their respective founders are said to have been companions in arms, or even brothers or cousins . . . . ,,

KHARWAR—
A Kolarian tribe, whose sacred river is the Damodar, said to have been located in the Chai and Champa parganas of the present Hazaribagh district, and to have migrated thence to Singhbhum and Sildah or Samanta in Midnapore, whence they broke north and south with the name of Samanta-wala or Saontal (Santal) in the early part of this century . . . . . *v.* Santal.

KHARWAR—*concluded.* PAGE.

The name taken by the revivalist and puritan Santals first noticed in 1871. They affect Hinduism, eschew pigs, fowls and alcohol, take ganja, and object to the payment of rent by the actual reclaimers of land or their descendants. . *v.* Santal.

A tribe of Chota Nagpur and South Bihar . . . *id.*

KHATAURI—

The spelling of Katauri in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, first edition. To one who thinks that the Katauri appeal more strongly to the historical sense than any caste in Bengal, the brief notice of them given in so important a work seems scanty. The reason is that they were not distinguished at each successive census. Thus that of 1881 gave some 10,000 Khatri in the Santal Parganas, and only 5,200 in Burdwan, the home of this caste in Bengal. There could not have been 100 Khatri in the Santal Parganas in 1881, and the individuals so enumerated were Khatauri, only too anxious to be equalized with the Aryan Khatri. Others called themselves Chattri, Rajput or Surajbansi, or Sing, and some Ghatwal. Their real number could not have been under 30,000. The spelling Khatauri is easily accounted for. Besides being affected by themselves, no enumerator, and before the present writer, no officer, recognized any practical distinction between them and the Kshatriya, Chhattri or Khatri or Khetri; but when the matter came to a test as in the Barkop case (*q.v.*), the conservative section insisted that the spelling was Katauri or Katuri. The word "Mâls" in the article referred to in connection with my name, must be a misprint for Mâlé as the people whom I call Sauria Mâlér are called in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal.* . . *v.* Katauri.

Mr. John Boxwell was convinced that the word Katauri was either a decayed form of Kshatriya, or at least meant for it in some shape. It may be noticed that the Mâlér and the Mâl Paharias cannot, without difficulty, pronounce an aspirated consonant, or even an intermediate aspirate. Thus we have Con Sahib for Khan Sahib (*v.* Sutherland), and Pel for *pahar* (*v.* Pal), while they always call themselves Paria not Paharia. This may account for Katauri instead of Khatauri (*v.* Katauri), and, with a cognate race, for Boya instead of Bhuiya (*v.* Boya) 32

KHETURI—*v.* Katauri.

KHATRI OR KHETRI—

An Aryan caste of the Panjab; next to the Brahman the most diffused (though in small numbers) in India; distinguished by the many individuals of conspicuous financial, administrative and military ability whom it has produced . . 31

Described by the late Sir George Campbell . . . ,,

Their chief representatives in Bengal the noble house of Burdwan . . . . . ,,

The illustrious Toder Mal, a member of this caste . . ,,

Mr. John Boxwell's conjectures as to the origin of the name Khatri 32

Certainly affiliated to Kshatriya . . . . . ,,

KHETRI—

The spelling and pronunciation of their caste name insisted on by the Khatri house of Burdwan and its dependents unless when Kshetri is preferred. The plural is Khetrian. (*v.* Khâtri) 31

Impossibly derived by them from Kshetra. They claim to be the only survivors of the Kshatriya, and repudiate the spelling and pronunciation Chhatri . . . . ,,

Have within the century begun to assume the affix Barman . 32

Following Rajput and other Aryan practice, formed marriage alliances with the Sadgop of Gopbhum, of whom they were first neighbours and later conquerors, the result being the local Aguri caste (*v.* Aguri) 18

Reasons for the distinct but comparatively high position of this progeny . . . . . ,,

One section claim the *Mitakshara*, and another a *lex gentis* . . 2

PAGE.

KHOBIAL SING—
A Rajput adventurer accepted by the Mál of Marpal (*q.v.*) as their Raja, in furtherance of their pretension to be Hindu with the status of Rajputs 9
Remains of his stone fort on the summit of Mahuagarhi . . ,,
Slain by the Katauri Raja of Hendue at Rajamara . . ,,

KOCHH—Modern instance of a great tribe affiliating themselves to Hinduism with the status of Kshatria, *cf.* the Bhuiya, Mál, Katauri and others 30

KOLARIAN—Belonging to or resembling the Kol. The term is used in this work to distinguish those sylvan races of South Bihar, Western Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa whose language is practically identical, and whose internal polity is communal and republican like that of the Larka Kol, (*q.v*), from similar races, herein called Dravidian, who are either monarchic like the Bhuiya, Mälér, Katauri and some Mál, or anarchic like other Mál, the Bauri and the Bagdi, irrespective of the language spoken by them . . . . . 5—17—22

KOTAL—
The name given by the Chandal of Burdwan when asked what their caste is, because, in the region of their prevalence, they serve in the rural police who were under the Kotwal or Chief of Police, a title allowed to the heads of the house of Burdwan before they became Rajas* 30
An instance of assumption of an approach to a name by those who dared not take the full name, *cf.* Babhan, Katauri, Tili, &c., and *v.* Names . . . . . ,,

KOTWAL—Its secondary meaning is Chief of the Police, and in this sense it was allowed as a title to the earlier heads of the house of Burdwan by the Viceroys of Bengal (*cf.* Kotal) . . ,,

KSATRA—
KSATTA—
KSATTR—
KSA—
KSI—
} A Sanskrit word and roots. Mr. John Boxwell's conjectures regarding them . . . . . 32—33

KSHATAURI—*v.* Katauri and Khatauri 6

KSHATRIYAHOOD—The rank next to that of Brahman; begun to be claimed under British protection, without fear or danger, by the Bengal Kayastha, the Baidya and others; the new thing. *v.* Kshatriyatwa 31

KSHATRIYATWA—The state of being Kshatriya, the old thing. *v.* Kshatriyahood . . . . . ,,

KSHETRA—Sanskrit for a field, a battle-field. Impossible derivation of their name claimed by the Khetri . . . . . ,,

KSHETRI—Alleged purist spelling of their name by the Khetri . ,,

KUJINGRAM—A large and strong fort some 15 miles south-east of Burdwan built by its Rajas as a refuge from the Mahrattas. (*cf.* Talitgarh) 25

KUMARBHAG—The princely section. The name taken by the northernmost Mál who inhabit Kumarpal, the hill *tappah* of *pargana* Sultanabad, who claim the status of Kshatriya and (probably with some truth) to be related by blood to the Rajput house of Sultanabad 8

KUMARPAL—The hills of the Kumar or princes. The name of the hill *tappah* of *pargana* Sultanabad taken by Cleveland into his Daman-i-koh. The name, pronounced also Kuarpel and Kunwarpal, is often used in rhyming contrast to Sumarpel or Saurpal, the hills of the Sauria Mälér as the hill *tappah* of *pargana* Ambal, which marches with Kumarpal on the north, is called. Their boundary is the line between the non-Hindu Mälér and the Hinduised Mál. (*v.* Sumarpal) . . . 10

* In the first edition of *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* the Kotal, therein called Kótál, are given as a separate caste of Central Bengal, but according to the Census of 1881 almost peculiar to Burdwan. In the Census of 1872 Ghatwal was given as a separate caste, and I think these instances to be exactly similar. The account above is the result of personal observation and enquiry among the Chandal of Burdwan.

L.

PAGE.

LACHMIPUR—

A *pargana* of South Bhagalpur, at first included among and then detached from the Santal Parganas in which its dependency, *pargana* Passai (*q.v.*), was retained . . 7

Lachmipur, with its dependency Passai, one of the Santal Parganas, and the Ghatwali of Tior-Ballia in *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar on its south border, is the northernmost Bhuiya chiefship in India, and the most important remnant to them of their invasion in the XVIth century. It was subsequently dominated by the Pathan house of Kharakpur (*q.v.*), but, as in the case of Birbhum with the Bhuiya ghatwals of Sarath-Deoghar (*q.v.*), this domination was never very secure, and shortly after the British accession Lachmipur became detached, and at the permanent settlement was separately recognized. By its ghatwali of Tior-Ballia in Sarath-Deoghar it was also subject to Birbhum, and this connection remained unchanged. The Lachmipur territory occupies old Katauri country, and *pargana* Passai is interposed between the Katauri chiefships of Barkop and Hendue, and occupies with *pargana* Godda the obliterated Katauri chiefship of Usila. This Bhuiya territory stops at the western boundary of the Daman-i-koh, and the Bhuiya invaders had, unlike the other bordering zamindars, no claims or possessions in the hills. The members of the Lachmipur Raja's family are as negritic and untinctured with Aryan blood as their humblest clansmen, but call themselves Surajbansi Rajputs, as do many of their tribesmen throughout Passai and Lachmipur. These Lachmipur Bhuiya also affect the affix Sing, and call themselves Sing Bhuiya, while the Bhuiya of other states are Rai Bhuiya (*v.* Bhuiya) . . . . . ,,

LAKRAGARH—The strong and ample fort of the Katauri Rajas of Manihari in the central valley of the North Daman-i-koh, four miles north of Bario. Outside the moat is the tomb of one of the Rajas who was forcibly converted to Islam, and stoned to death by his Katauri on his return . . . 18

LANGUAGE—

Influences which decide the region of prevalence of a language and its boundaries 9

No physical boundaries between regions of prevalence of the Mâlér tongue and the Mál dialect; between Bengali and Hindi, and Bengali and Uriya . . . . . ,,

LARKA KOL—The fighting Kol of Singhbhum who call themselves Ho, The Men, and are the Kol meant by the term Kolarian . *v.* Kolarian.

M.

McCRINDLE—Mr. J. W.—The author of Ancient India, a compilation of extracts from the Greek geographers, the authority for all references to them in this paper 25

MAHANTI—A title of and synonym for the Karan (*q. v.*) of Orissa . 31

MAHENDRA NATH—Said to be the full name of Mahindi Raja, the Sadgop ruler of Gopbhum, whose capital was Amrargarh (*q. v.*) . . . . . 17 & 18

MAHILI—An instance of a Kolarian tribe with its communal system 22

MAHINDI RAJA—By tradition the greatest of the Sadgop Rajas of Gopbhum, and founder of Amrargarh (*v.* Mahendra Nath) . 18

MAHUAGARHI—The highest hill in *tappah* Marpal of the southern Daman-i-koh, overlooking Hendue. On its summit are the remains of Raja Khosial Sing's stone fort (*v.* Khosial Sing) . 9

MAITHILI—The adjective of Mithila, the old name for the eastern part of Hindustan north of the Ganges, the Hindu law of which is claimed by the modern Katauri of Barkop . . . 1

	PAGE.
MAL—	
The great Mál race of Bengal traced to the Sauria Mălér.* (*q. v.*)	
The first link the Mál Paharia of the Daman-i-koh . . .	11
The high status of the Mál Paharia, their claims to be Kumar or princely, and to blood relationship with the Rajput house of Sultanabad	10
The Rajbansi Mál of Burdwan	5
The Naiya and Pujahar of Deoghar and the Maulik of Jamtara subdivision and Manbhum	11
Loss of distinctive language and changes in religion and dress . .	,,
Gradual lowering of social status	15
MALE -*v.* Mălér	6

*As the Mál race of Bengal is the key-note to this work, I have to refer at some length to the treatment of this subject in the first edition of *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, which will be the best reference for all matters of the kind for a long time to come. In it the Mál, the Málé (as Mr. Risley calls the people who I have been referring to as Sauria Mălér), and the Mál Paharia are treated in three separate articles, a method which was necessary. It adds, however, to the appearance of distinctiveness between three descriptions of a people who are practically identical, and this appearance is increased by some accidental omissions and some errors of description which I hope to see corrected, while incidents of the Mál which to me seem clearly traceable to their origin are referred to as extremely obscure or wholly inexplicable. Thus Cleveland's system is described as applying solely to the Mălér, while it applied equally to the Mál when in 1781 he included the Sultanabad and Belpatta hills in his Daman-i-koh. There is nothing in the records to show that Cleveland knew the difference. Sardar is said to be a title of the Mál Paharias. It is much more exclusively a title of the Mălér. Again, following Colonel Dalton, who admittedly wrote on this subject at second hand, the Mál Paharia are said to inhabit the Ramgarh hills. These hills are separated by the Brahmini river from the modern Daman i-koh, and in some respects are a different system from its hills. They could never have been thickly populated, but in 1881 they contained a single tiny Mál hamlet. The bulk of the Mál Paharia were and are in *tappah* Kumarpal (*q. v.*), the largest and the central division of the Daman-i-koh, and there is no natural boundary between it and the country of the Mălér north of it. Part of this boundary was in dispute in 1882, and I had to examine it. The undisputed like the disputed portion followed neither the depressions nor the ridges. It deviated up hill and down dale, marked by stumps and stones, and followed the edges of the old joom cultivation On this boundary the Mál and Mălér were undistinguishable in language, habits or appearance. The identity of the Mál Paharia of Kumarpal with the Mălér is so much a part of my consciousness for the five years that I was connected with them that I should probably lose sight of the true arguments necessary to demonstrate it. But, save for their different religion and the fiscal boundary, it would be impossible to say where the Mălér cease and the Mál begin. The word Chet applied by the Mál of Kumarpal to the Mălér is, I believe, only their *patois* for the Hindi *Chit*, meaning *supine*, in reference to the fact that the Mălér have not risen to Hinduism.

The connection of these Kumarpal Mal with the Mál of Birbhum, Murshidabad, Burdwan, and Bankura, and therefore of all Western and Central Bengal, is, however, easily demonstrable on paper. The Birbhum district is the best link, not only for the reasons which I shall give, but because by the census of 1881 it contained more members of the Mál race (as distinguished from the Mál Paharia and the Mălér) than any district in Bengal. The old Birbhum district extended up to Kumarpal, pre-eminently the seat of the Mál Paharia. It contained those Ramgarh hills which Colonel Dalton says were the home of that race. It contained *tappahs* Marpal and Danrpal (*q. v.*) still in the Daman-i-koh, which Colonel Dalton supposed to be tribal instead of, as they are, purely local or territorial names. But it also contained Sankara (*q.v.*), which was and is the sole instance of a Mál Paharia Raj. The southernmost point of Sankara is not over 25 miles distant from Suri, the capital of the modern Birbhum district, while Sundardihi, to which Cleveland appointed one of his Paharia stipends, is not over 12 miles distant. South of Birbhum comes the strip of Burdwan, 12 miles wide, in which the Rajbansi Mál are found. South of it comes the Bankura district to which it used to belong, while previously the Bankura district itself belonged to Burdwan. All this country, with Midnapore further south still and Manbhum on the west, is physically homogeneous. In no part of it would it be possible to say where the Mál Paharia ceased and the Mál began, and equally impossible is it to fix, as stated in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, the most primitive specimens of the Mál caste as met with in Bankura.

PAGE.

MALER—
The Sauria 6
Commonly called the Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills . . ,,
Are the unadulterated remnant of the great Mál or Saurian race of India . . . . . ,,
And the representatives of the Malli, Mandei or Mandali; or Sabaræ, Suaræ or Suari of the Greek geographers . . ,,
The Malli held the plains as well as the hills . . . ,,
Their section in the plains to the west have, with an admixture of Aryan blood, become the Hindu Katauri. (*v.* Katauri) . ,,
The Mál Paharia, the other Hinduized section of the Mälér . 7
The Mál of Bengal traceable to the Mälér . . . 10
The Sauria Mälér owe their preservation as unchanged aborigines to Augustus Cleveland 13
Are in race identical with the Oraon 12
Discussion of the words Mälér, Malla, Manbhum, Mál . . ,,
MALEUS—MONS—*v.* MALLUS and MANDAR 6
MALLI—
The nation or race said by all the Greek geographers to lie next east to the Prasii of Palibothra, the metropolis of Sandracottus, and around Mons Mallus, and north of the Monedes . ,,
Always called by the Greeks Malli *or* Suari, Suaræ or Sabaræ . ,,
The constant ll of Malli probably meant to represent the liquidness of the l in Mälér, as still pronounced . . ,,
Compare with Malli Suari the Sauria Mälér and the Sabar . 6—12
The Malli were not necessarily hillmen. The Sauria Mälér (Rajmahal hillmen) are the pure remnant of the race who have found refuge in the hills . . . . . ,,

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I have written of this country in this positive way because I know it, while I do not personally know the region of prevalence of the Mál in Murshidabad, and I never inquired into it in Nadia. A glance at the map and at the relative positions of these districts to *tappah* Kumarpal seems enough to account for it. Kumarpal is the hill *tappah* of *pargana* Sultanabad, and it and its parent *pargana* belonged to what is now the Murshidabad district till Cleveland annexed them in 1781. Reverting to Birbhum, the sub-caste names of the Mál attract attention. They are Rajbansi or Raja Mál, Mallik, and Khaturia. With the Kumarbhag or princely section in Kumarpal, and the Raj Paharia family of Sankara in Birbhum itself, the division Rajbansi or Raja-Mal, the only one known to me personally, needs no accounting for. The word Mallik is, I have little doubt, a slight variation for Maulik (*q. v.*), the name by which the Mál Paharia are known in *tappah* Kundahit Koraiya of the old Birbhum district, now one of the Santal Parganas, and in the adjoining tract in Manbhum. It is Khaturia that is interesting. *Tappah* Belpatta of the old Birbhum district, which contains Marpal and Danrpal and Sankara and the Ramgarh hills, was Katauri land, and still contains a large section of the race. So was *tappah* Kundahit Koraiya, though the Katauri have shrunk away from it, leaving many of their stone remains. The connection between the northern Katauri and the Mälér—social, political and territorial—was close up till Cleveland's time and still survives. It must have been as close between the southern Katauri and the ancestors of these Mál till the former were destroyed by the Bhuiya, and the severance was completed by the affiliation of the Mál to Hinduism. Conscious as I am that stress can be seldom laid on mere names, it is impossible to avoid attaching the greatest weight to them in this instance, with all its corroborations. A still more interesting and an equally suggestive example is that of the Maulik or Naya (*q.v.*) who, with any one that will listen to them, cling so pathetically to their Mál or Mälér origin, and whose sub-caste names are Rajbansi, Jharia or the forest folk, Mál and SAURIA.

Again, it is by the irony of fate that I have to contradict *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* on the sole point on which rested the idea (once held by myself till I saw the people in their hills,) that the Mál and Mälér are a different race. This is the difference in their appearance. The Mál undoubtedly are dark. Some of them are tall. They are never stoutly built. The article on the Malé says—"The average stature is low, the complexion dark, and the figure short and sturdy." They are very small people and exhibit that levelness of stature so often found in a tribe which, like theirs and the Santal, keeps its homogenity. But the Mälér are fair rather than dark. Their limbs are long in proportion to their low stature, and, as Colonel Dalton says, they are extremely sender in build. With their light brown faces and ringleted heads, and slender graceful figures and very small extremities, they are the greatest contrast to the dark-skinned, straight-haired and heavily-built Santal.

PAGE.

MALLI—*concluded.*
The chiefs and aristocracy of the Malli in the plains are now, with an admixture of Aryan blood, the Katauri . . 6
The other Malli are the Rajmahal hillmen and the Mál of Bengal ,,
Also called Mandei and Mandali by the Greeks . . . ,,
Mandali may be from Mandar (*v.* Mandar) . . . ,,

MALLUS—
Mons or Maleus, the hill about which the Malli or Suari lay . ,,
Its portentous shadow . . . . . ,,
Is the Mandar hill of South Bhagalpur . . . . ,,
Is the Hindu's churn of the ocean . . . . ,,
By identifying the position of the Malli or Suari (Sauria Mälér), identifies that of the Prasii, and Palibothra as Patna . ,,
As Mallus is connected with Malli, Mandali the Greek synonym for Malli, may be from Mandar . . . . ,,

MANBHUM—A country in which the Mál are very prevalent; possibly gets its name from them 12

MANDALI— } Synonyms used by the Greek geographers for Mali,
MANDEI— } *cf.* Malli, Mandar 6

MANDAR—
The hill in South Bhagalpur, the Mons Mallus or Maleus of the ancients (*cf.* Mallus) . . . . . ,,
Is the Hindu's churn of the ocean . . . . ,,
Marks the region of the Hinduized Malli (the Katauri), and is still the seat of the tutelary goddess of Santals and forest races who turn to Hinduism 16
May account for Mandali, a synonym of Malli . . . 6

MANGALKOT—On the Ajay, where it is crossed by the Badshahi road (*q.v.*), a village prolific in Hindu and Muhammadan remains 20

MANIHARI—
The principal *tappah* of *pargana* Bhagalpur, and seat of the senior branch of the Katauri chiefs which once dominated the whole of the Rajmahal Hills and adjoining plains . . 7
The survival of the Manihari chiefs and dependencies amid advancing Aryan Hindus, probably due to the protection of the Muhammadan officers at Bhagalpur . . . ,,

MANJHI—
Dialectic Hindi for a middleman, and consequently used for the head of a village, who is representative or spokesman for his villagers to the land-holder. The title of all Santal and Paharia (*q.v.*) village headmen . . . . . *v.* Santal
The name given by a Santal when asked what he is by a foreigner and in a foreign tongue, but never so given when asked in Santali or Mundâri. He then answers "Hor" (*q.v.*)
The third grade of Cleveland's Paharia stipendiaries . . *v.* Sardar.

MANJHUA—The middle place. *cf.* Manjhi. The old fiscal name of the central valley of the Daman-i-koh, not resumed from Manihari (*q.v.*) till 1837. *v.* Daman-i-koh . . . 7

MARPAL—
A hill *tappah* of *tappah* Belpatta (*q.v.*) and one of the parts of Belpatta left in the Daman-i-koh by Mr. Ward (*q.v.*). Marpal means the hills of the Mál (*v.* Pal), and it marches with Kumarpal (*q.v.*) to the north. Thus the Mál of Kumarpal, lying next to the Sauria of Suarpal, and boasting of kinship with the Rajputs of Sultanabad, emphatically called their division the hills of the Kumars. The next Mal to their south who were allowed no such boast, as distinctively called their division the hills of the Mál. (*v.* also Danrpal) . . 10
The Mál of Marpal accepted a Rajput adventurer, Khosial Sing, as their Raja, probably to put themselves on the same social footing as the Kumar-bhag or Mál of Kumarpal, from whom the wide and deep Bansloi river divides them . . 9
Mr. Ward left the south-west boundary of Marpal uncertain. . *v.* Ward.

The Mál are a far dirtier race. They cut their hair short. Their unequal stature and darker skins may be due to their being less exclusively mountaineers, and to some admixture of alien blood. The difference between them and the Mälér is chiefly from their being diffused far in the plains and in other hills, while the Mälér are compactly situated in the Northern Rajmahal hills. But the compact body of the Mál in the Daman-i-koh is the link in an unbroken chain,

PAGE.

MAULIK—
The name given by the Bengalis of *tappah* Kundahit Koraiya, the southernmost of the Santal Parganas, to the local Mál or Mál Paharia . . . . . v. MÁL.
Maulik is the adjective of Mul, a root or origin, and the name recognizes these Mál as distinguished from the Bhuiya or far more recent Santal. The position of the Maulik is not nearly so low as that of the Naiya (*q.v.*) of Deoghar, no doubt because the country round Deoghar is cleared and inhabited by Aryan Hindustanis, and contains no Santals for comparison with the Naiya. *Tappah* Kundahit Koraiya which adjoins Manbhum, where the name Maulik also is given, is still sylvan, and Bengali settlers in it are far less Aryan than the Hindustanis of Deoghar. *v.* Mál . . . . ,,
MEDINIPUR—*v.* Midnapore 3
MEHERA—*v.* Nandi 32
MIDNAPORE—The English of Medinipur 3
MITAKSHARA—Claimed by one side in the great Burdwan litigation of 1888 to 1890, while the other claimed a family law . 31
MONEDES—The people or nation placed by the Greek geographers as next to the Prasii after the Malli, on the south-west, as the Gangaridæ were so placed on the south east, and therefore conjectured to be the Munda, the oldest settled and traditionally senior of the Kolarian races, contrasting with the Malli (*q.v.*) who are the most distinct of the northern Dravidians. The collocation of the bulk of the Munda with the old Katauri country and the Mälér is still the same. That is, the region of greatest Munda prevalence is the tract stretching south-west from nearly below the Mandar hill . 6
MUNDA—The Sanskrit for head, taken as a name by the Kolarian tribe which is thought to be the longest settled, and the most closely established to civilization of the Kolarian races. *v.* Monedes . . . . . ,,
MUNDARI—The adjective of Munda as a tribe name . . . ,,

N.

NADIA—(Anglice Nuddea). A Brahman Raj, a phenomenon peculiar to Bengal and Orissa . . . . . Preface ii.
NAIYA—The name given by Aryan Hindus to the degraded Mál Paharias about Deoghar. The degradation can be variously accounted for. The claims of these people must seem ridiculously incompatible with their race and actual position to the Aryan priests and votaries who throng Deoghar in thousands. These Mál are divided from the Mál of Kumarpal (*q.v.*) by Hendue (*q.v.*) with its exclusive Katauri. Finally, the tradition is still fresh that these Mál held the hills as the Katauri held the plains of Sarath-Deoghar till the latter were expelled and the former subjugated by the Bhuiya. Sarath-Deoghar (*q.v.*) stretches right down to the border of Manbhum. To an ordinary enquirer the Naiya, who do not so call themselves, will say that they are Pujahar (*q.v.*). But to a sympathetic listener, who knows what the word Kumarbhag (*q.v.*) means, they will dilate on their relationship to that princely section, and to their real status as Kshatriya. Their anarchic and broken state is shown by the readiness with which they emigrate. They were for many years the only emigrants from the Deoghar subdivision. Deoghar is in Hindustan, and its Hindi-speaking people do not use the Bengali word Maulik (*q.v.*) for the Naiya. The Naiyas' own word for themselves, Pujahar, is probably a protest against the repudiation and contempt of the Hindu Aryan votaries among whom they are now found 11
NAMES—
Instances of names of castes and titles in Bengal, like Raut for Rajput, which are either forms of phonetic decay, or are intentional approaches to a name of higher rank, the assumption of which in full would have been punishable, or are avoidances of names of reproach. *cf.* Bábhan, Barm, Charral, Khatauri, Khetri, Kotal, Teli 10
Instances of trading on such name resemblances . . . 30

PAGE.

NANDI—A mistake for Mehera in describing the four divisions of the Khetri 32

NAROTTAM—The traditional Raja of the stone fort at Churulia (*q.v.*) of whom nought but the name survives . . . 4

O.

ORAON—

Identical in race and language with the Mălér (*q.v.*) and Sabar (*q.v.*) 12

Contrast with the Mălér in industrious character. Reasons for the difference . . . . . ,,

Called Dhangar in the places to which they emigrate for work . ,,

P.

PACHETE—The English for Panchkot (*q.v.*) 4

PAHARIA—Hindi phonetic for *pahari*. The name indiscriminately used by Cleveland and his successor for the Mălér and Mál of the Daman-i-koh, and still used in precisely the same way by the Hindustanis and Bengalis of the adjacent plains; that is, as a caste name 7

PAIK—The lowest rank of the rural militia, holding service land in Western Bengal, now converted into village police . . 30

PAKAUR— } The capital of *pargana* Ambar (*q.v.*), often used to
PAKUR— } denote that *pargana* . . . . .

PAL— } Most often pronounced *pel* and *peli*. The termination of
PALI— } the four names of the hill divisions Sumarpal or Suarpal (or Pali), Kumarpal, Marpal, and Danrpal, (*q.v.*) erroneously said by Colonel Dalton to distinguish four distinct tribes of Paharias (*q.v.*). This has been a long-standing puzzle to enquirers. Mr. Skrefsrud assured me that the word was the Turkish *khail*, a tribe. After several comparisons I am still more confident that it is simply the Mál Paharia *patois* for the Hindi *pahar* or *pahari*, a hill or range of hills. The word Marpal for Malpahar, the hills of the Mál, is a sufficiently good instance of this common transposition . . . 10

It is a fair conjecture that the Paharia of *pargana* Sultanabad gave these names when they formed their alliance with its Rajput house and became its subjects, and Mál instead of Mălér, and Kumarbhag instead of plain Mál, and Hindu. The country of the still heathen Sauria who bordered them on the north was naturally Suarpal. The hills of their brethren on the south who, though Mál, were not ennobled by the Rajput alliance, and who moreover were dependents of Birbhum, were called Marpal, the hills of the Mal. Danrpal is not so easy to account for, but with it and Marpal this nomenclature ceased, because next came Sankara, constituted by its chiefs like a Bengal taluk, of which they styled themselves the Rajas. (*v.* Sankara) . . . . . 10—13

PANCHKOT—

v. Pachete. The name of a mountain in Manbhum near the confluence of the Barakar with the Damodar, and of a Hindu State the capital of which lies beneath this hill, of great antiquity and extent. Panchkot lay west of and next to the realms of Bishtupur and Birbhum. The word means fifty millions, supposed to refer to the number of chieftaincies or *parganas* which it denominated, and when the English obtained it in 1760 as a dependency of Burdwan, by which it had been conquered, it was supposed to extend to the borders of Bombay. Its chiefs claim to be Rajputs, though no acknowledged Rajputs will intermarry with them. In appearance they show a very large admixture of Aryan blood . . 2

Pargana Shergarh belonged for the most part to Panchkot, and its capital and fort Dihi Shergarh, with much scattered revenue-free land, still does so 4

PANDRA—A Hindu State or zamindari of Manbhum, wedged between the Birbhum and Panchkot realms. It, too, had a share in the debateable *pargana* Shergarh . . . . . ,,

PAGE.

PARTHALIS—According to the Greeks the capital of the Gangarides (*q.v.*) and identified as Burdwan. But the history of the Burdwan Khatri (*q.v.*) and the Aguri (*q.v.*) shows that the Aryans in Burdwan are of very recent arrival, while those now found had no predecessors unless a few Brahman missionaries; I therefore conjecture the Bagdi and Mál to have been the Gangarides and Bishtupur (*q.v.*), the capital of their kings, to have been Parthalis. Burdwan has no such remnants of antiquity as Bishtupur 15

PASSAI—One of the Santal Parganas, a dependency of the Bhuiya State Lachmipur, and so at the British accession of Kharakpur. With the little *pargana* of Godda on its north it is interjected between the Katauri Chiefship Hendue (*q.v.*) and the other Katuari possessions. *Parganas* Passai and Godda represent the area of the Katauri chiefship *tappah* Usila, which was overrun and obliterated by the Bhuiya. It is open cleared country, which may account for this interruption to the line of Katauri possessions, and it abounds with Katauri remains. It, unlike all the other domains, except Hendue, which border the Daman-i-koh, had no share in the hills, no doubt because the Mälér of Sumarpal (*q.v.*) which it subtends sought the protection of the Brahman house of Ambar to which Cleveland found Sumarpal attached; and the Bhuiya with their new Hinduism particularly dreaded the Brahman. The Bhuiya peasants of Passai, who are very numerous, are Sing Bhuiya and Surajbansi, like their head, the house of Lachmipur *q. v.* . . . . . 17—9—22

PATHAN—

The Pathan Rajas of Birbhum and Kharakpur 7

The first Aryan invaders who permanently stayed in Bengal in great numbers . . . . . Preface ii.

PATSANDA—

One of the Santal Parganas. A *tappah* of *pargana* Bhagalpur. The most northern of the minor Katauri chiefships sprung from Manihari 7

Its chiefs retain the title Barm (*q. v.*) 32

PEL— }
PELI— } . . . . . *v.* Pal.

PONTET—Mr. James Pontet was the senior Deputy Collector in Bengal, and in 1836 was appointed with the express object of settling Santals, Superintendent of the Daman-i-koh. This word (*q.v.*) was for this appointment used in its most technical sense, for Mr. Pontet was to have nothing to do with the hills and hillmen, and with the working of Regulation I of 1796 (*q. v.*), but only with the culturable slopes and valleys. The distinction was impracticable, as some of the best arable land is on the flat hill tops. It was mischievous and had much to do with the Santal rebellion (*v.* Santal), for which Mr. Pontet was most unjustly blamed by Sir F. Halliday's Government. Mr. Pontet was the first to reach the scene of outbreak, where he was seized and conveyed to safety by the Santals themselves, as they could not answer for their young man, once massacre began. He was removed soon after from the Superintendentship, and died broken-hearted in 1857. There is no name so revered among the Santals as that of Ponteen, as they call him, and they delight to tell of his constant care for them, his justness, his incorruptibility (which was exposed to much temptation), and his scrupulous dealings with themselves for the supplies they brought him. Yet his position was very weak, and would have been altogether untenable but for the support given to him by the Board of Revenue. He had no criminal powers. The police used to harass him, and successive young Magistrates of Bhagalpur to snub and thwart him, while he always stood in well-founded dread of the Civil Courts whose action was the real proximate cause of the Santal rebellion. He was somewhat inarticulate. His first duty was to ascertain Mr. Ward's (*q. v.*) boundaries, and in doing so he became conscious that the Resumption Commissioner of the day had decreed to *pargana* Ambar (*q. v.*) the whole

PAGE.

PONTET—*concluded.*

of *tappah* Sumarpal (*q. v.*) which Cleveland had taken from it in 1781 to form his Daman-i-koh. He at once wrote a strong and not grammatical protest direct to the Resumption Commissioner, and though the error was afterwards rectified, he never recovered from the rebukes showered on him from all sides for his presumption. He raised the revenue of the Daman-i-koh from a minus quantity to Rs. 80.000 annually, which has since risen to nearly two lakhs; and he performed the feat of dividing it into *mauzas* and fiscal areas corresponding with *parganas* which he called bungalows; and this without the aid of a map, though it has been found quite possible to map his divisions with accuracy. Owing to his being severed from charge of the hillmen he was ignorant of their existing fiscal divisions, with which his bungalow areas do not correspond . . . . . *v.* Santal.

PRASII—The name by which Megasthenes calls the Hindu nation at whose capital, Palibothra, he dwelt. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt calls them Prachya. The Malli (*q.v.*) lay east of them, and the Monedes (*q.v.*) beyond the Malli to the south-west, and the Gangarides (*q.v.*) beyond the Malli to the south-east 6

PUJAHAR—The name by which the Naiya (*q.v.*) of Deoghar call themselves to their Hindi neighbours. In *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* there seems to be some mistake about the words Pujaha and Pujhor therein given . . . 11

R.

RAI—The Rai Bhuiya in the Santal Parganas are distinguished from the Singh Bhuiya, as the clansmen of the house of Lachmipur (*q.v.*) style themselves 30

RAJAMARA—A site at the eastern edge of Hendue (*q.v.*), where the Bansloi enters the hills, and under Mahuagarhi (*q.v.*) where Khosial Singh, the pretender Rajput Raja of Marpal, was slain in battle with the Katauri Raja of Hindue (*v.* Khosial Sing and Marpal) 9

RAJBANSI MAL—Mál of royal race, the name by which the Mál of Burdwan call themselves, indicating their connection with the Mál of Kumarpal and Sankara (*q. v.*) . . . 5

RAJGARH—The large and strong fort, with ramparts faced with brick and several fine brick buildings which Raja Chitra Sen Rai of Burdwan built on the western connes of Gopbhum . 19

RAJMAHAL HILLS—The general name for Cleveland's Daman-i-koh; that is, the ranges of hills more or less continuous beginning at the Ganges between Colgong and Rajmahal and ending at Sundar Dihi in *tappah* Mahamadabad of the Santal Parganas, bordering the present Birbhum district . 13

RAJSHAHI—

The name by which the people of the Sonthal Parganas call the land outside their eastern boundary, whether in the Murshidabad or Birbhum districts, because it once belonged to the Rajshahi district . . . . . *v.* Santal Parganas.

"The vastest zamindari in India." (Mr. Sarishtadar Grant in the Fifth Report.) Instance of the phenomenon of a great Brahman temporality, peculiar to Bengal and Orissa, and deduction therefrom . . . . . Preface ii.

REGULATION I OF 1796 } The successive regulations enacted to
REGULATION I OF 1827 } legalize Cleveland's protective system for the Paharias, but by a grave blunder not applied to the Santals (*v.* Cleveland and Santal) . . . . . *v.* Ward.

REGULATION XXIX OF 1814—

The Regulation which confirmed Mr. Scott's settlement in 1813 of *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar (*q. v.*) . . . . . *v.* Scott.

Sarath Deoghar is the only part of India to which it applies . *v.* Sarath-Deoghar.

ROSHAN BAKHT—The name of the Tili who was zamindar of *pargana* Tilagarhi (*q. v.*) after his conversion to Islam 10

S.

PAGE.

SABAR OR SAUR—A scattered tribe found for the most part in Orissa and its Garhjat, and in the similar country of the Northern Circars, which used to be regarded as the representatives of the Sabaræ, Suaræ, or Suari of the Greek geographers, now sufficiently identified with the Sauria Mâlér. The Sabar are essentially Dravidian according to the sense in which that term is employed in this note, though the tongue used by some of them is said to be related to that of most of the tribes classed as Kolarian. I have never met any of the Sabar. All enquiries about them led to the belief that they were a fragment of the race represented by the Mâlér, Mál and Oraon, though their name, it must be acknowledged, has been a strong inducement to this 12

SABARÆ—*v.* Malli, Sabar, Sauria 6

SADGOP—

One of the four great and distinctive castes of Burdwan . 1

Its origin traceable to Gopbhum (*q. v.*), still its chief seat and west of which it is not found 26

Meaning of the name . . . . . ,,

The Sadgop nevertheless repudiate all connection with the Gop or Goala, actual or mythological . . . . . ,,

High social status and Aryan character . . . . . ,,

The reasons for above conjectured 27

Alliances with the Khetri of Burdwan and reasons for. A common instance of the kind 18

Part progenitors of the Aguri (*q. v.*)* . . . . . ,,

ALIMPUR—A small pargana of deltaic character, very fertile and wholly cleared, at the south-west edge of Gopbhum (*q. v.*) of which it is said to have formed a part under the chiefs of Kaksa (*q. v.*) and Bharatpur (*q. v.*) till wrested from them by Muhammadan adventurers. The name is also said to be contracted from Sulaimanpur, after one of the kings of Bengal 1

SAMANTA—

The Sanskrit for leader, a common title of the Sadgop and other of the Nabasakh in Western Bengal, and when so taken is in common parlance invariably pronounced Saont . 17

Another name for Silda, a territory and large *pargana* in Midnapore on the border of Singhbhum, whence the immigrant Santals discovered in the Godda *pargana* by Mr. Ward in 1828 deposed that they had come . . . . *v.* Ward and Santal.

This derivation of the word Santal or Sontal, which is still called and spelt Saontal in vernacular, is alluded to by Colonel Dalton and was first put forward by me in an official report of March 1881 on the origin and causes for the disturbances which had just taken place. It was welcomed as a discovery by Mr. John Beames, and has, I see from page 224, Vol. II of *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, been appropriated, though with a good deal of confusion, by the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud. Saontal cannot be a corruption of Saontar, since it is an essentially Bengali form, the immediate example for which among several others is *dantal*, from *danta—danta-wala*, a tusker (boar or elephant). For the Hindi pronunciation Saontar, which is still current, there are many examples. *v.* Marpal and Pal above. Nor am I aware that Silda in Midnapore is ever called Saont, the contracted form of the personal title, though it is called Samanta. The word Samanta-wala falling into the contraction, Soanta, as the name of an agent, is quite different from the examples of formation of the names of places. Nor did I ever gather that the Santal had sojourned for longer than a brief rallying time, and as at a rallying point, in Silda

* The division among the Sadgop which ranks highest is called the Kunr or Kunwar division. This word Kunwar is admittedly Kumar, prince. The same pronunciation is often noticed among the Mál Paharia in Kumarbhag and Kumarpal, and it seems another instance of a word blurred or altered because the full word could not be taken. *v.* Names.

PAGE.

SAMANTA—*concluded.*

As in Bengal all trans-frontier Pathans, even if Khorasani or Baluch, are called Kabuli, or as in the Santal Parganas all Hindustani money-lenders, even Marwaris, are called Bhojpuria because the first and most conspicuous of their kind came from Bhojpur in Shahabad, so would so remarkable a people as the Santal on their first appearance in Burdwan and Birbhum be called after the place whence some of them were known to have come. Beyond it all was unknown, and the phonetic exigencies of its name fixed the form of word to designate the name of Samanta. It is to be remembered that the Santal themselves never so call themselves unless in self-abasement. Their name for themselves, to themselves and to their friends is Hor; to strangers it is Manjhi. Their classic name is Kharwar (*q. v.*) *v.* Santal . . . 12—17

SANKARA—

The name of the group of Rajmahal Hills (*q. v.*) south of Marpal, separate from it by the Brahmini, which is the southern boundary of the present Daman-i-koh . . 13

A taluk or Paharia Raj, the only instance of the kind under the Court of Wards since 1855. It was formed by Cleveland's including Sankara, which he only knew of by hearsay, with the rest of Belpatta, in his Daman-i-koh, and assigning a set of stipends to it. Thereupon its Chief Tribhuban Singh (*q. v.*) began to plunder his neighbours in Birbhum of their property and lands, while he obtained immunity from the consequences by pleading his privileges as a Paharia, and later by Regulation I of 1796. This plan was still more actively followed by his son and successor, Suar or Sumar Sing (*q. v.*), and being discovered by Mr. Ward in 1829, he indignantly cut off Sankara from the Daman-i-koh, and with it all the hills south of the Brahmini, to which the same reasons did not apply. But he left the stipends untouched, and these were not resumed till 1879 14

The Mál of Sankara, though fast disappearing, excellently illustrate the steps by which the Mál are traced . . ,,

The Sankara family ruled by the Privy Council to be governed by *Dayábhaga*, a decision which is still the wonderment of the neighbouring Hindus. In 1868 it seemed as if nothing could save Sankara from sale and extinction, and to avert the impending ruin the heads of the family seized and sacrificed an unfortunate Bhojpuri trader on the top of Singini Math (the horned head), their highest hill, and this after they were governed by *Dayábhaga*. The decision was the precedent for the modern Katauri of Barkop claiming the Maithili law. (*v.* Barkop.) The Kumarpal Paharia would doubtless claim *Mitakshara* if occasion arose . . . . . ,,

SANTAL OR SONTAL—

This word is generally spelt in vernacular Saontal or Saontar, *v.* Samanta. A Kolarian tribe, the first mention of which in English records known to me occurs in Sutherland's report of 1818. (*v.* Sutherland.) He met a few individuals of the tribe whom he calls Soutars on the extreme southern edge of the present Daman-i-koh, and notes their celebrity as hardworking "farmers." There were none of them in the Daman i-koh. Ten years later Mr. Ward reported their presence in large numbers on the west face of the Daman-i-koh, and was desired to examine their spokesmen and ascertain who they were. A number of depositions are appended to the report given by him in compliance. All are to the same effect, that they had left and were still leaving Singbhum because of the disturbances there, and only sought waste lands which they might clear for rice cultivation for which they would pay rent. No orders were passed on this report; but in 1832 Mr. Ward, without authority, and in the teeth of the orders of Government which reserved the Daman-i-koh for its existing residents, settled four Santal villages in its Godda *pargana* and assessed them to rents aggregating Rs. 3,000. Of this he boasted when his demarcation business was wound up in 1833, but it remained unnoticed. In 1836, on the recommendation of Mr. Dunbar, then Collector of Bhagalpur, and afterwards a Member of the Board of

PAGE.

SANTAL OR SONTAL—*continued.*

Revenue, Mr. James Pontet (*q.v.*) was appointed to be a Deputy Collector and Superintendent of the Daman-i-koh, in the strictest sense of that word (*v.* Daman-i-koh), in order to have it cleared and cultivated by Santals, who thenceforward began to pour into it from the south and west. The fatal mistake was made of excluding them from the system provided by Regulation I of 1827 (*q.v.*), and they became a prey to the local police and Civil Courts and to the money-lenders from Bhojpur who settled among them, while outside the Daman-i-koh they were similarly oppressed by the zamindars. They were also ill-treated by the underlings of the railway then being constructed to Rajmahal. So in July 1855 they rose in bloody rebellion which began close to Barhait, the capital of the Daman-i-koh, and extended to all the immigrant Santals of Bhagalpur, Birbhum, Eastern Hazaribagh and Northern Manbhum, but did not affect the old settled Santals to the south and west. The cry of the revolters was death to the police, to the mahajans, to the Civil Court officers, to the railway sahibs, and to the *zamindars;* in particular to Sumar Sing (*q.v.*), the Paharia Raja or talukdar of Sankara, whose natural death just then saved him from a worse fate. Some members of all the other classes were either killed by arrows or hewn to pieces. On two occasions British columns were overwhelmed and cut to pieces by the insurgents, whose tactics were those of the Zulu in 1879, and whose deadliest weapons were their axes. They sustained, however, a crushing defeat at Sangrampur from a wing of the Paharia Hill Ranger Corps commanded by Captain Fagan. Some 8,000 troops were subsequently employed; the hills were hemmed in, and it is estimated that 10,000 Santals perished in the operations. The Paharias were levied against them, though it subsequently appeared that for the most part they had befriended the refugee insurgents. The revolt was speedily put down, and the elder of the two brothers who had originally headed it was hanged by Mr. Pontet at Barhait.

The word Kharwar (*q.v.*) does not appear in the records of this time. Colonel Dalton had heard of it before 1872, and in 1871 our officers became aware of a revivalist movement among the Santals, the adherents of which were calling themselves Kharwar. This movement, which is still in progress, has given much trouble from time to time since, and was prominent in the disturbances of 1880-81, when it was closely investigated by the present writer. The accounts given varied, but were unanimous that Kharwar was the old name of the Santal, and that, when they were Kharwar, they were a self-governed race and had not to pay rent for the land which they had made productive. But the new Kharwar also affected Hinduism. They called themselves Safa Hor, or the pure men, and an individual's full title was Ram Hindu Kharwar. Their deity was the goddess of Mandar (*q.v.*), and they eschewed pigs, fowls as well as alcohol, though they used ganja in its place. The explanation of this phase was that the Santal or Kharwar had never been able to attain prosperity or prominence while keeping to their animistic faith while the Bhuiya had preserved their greatness by becoming Hindu, and it was necessary for the Santal to do likewise.

It is not clear how far Mr. Risley in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* thinks the accounts of the later immigrations of the Santal to be authentic, or if he knew of Mr. Sutherland's and Mr. Ward's records on the subject. He observes that their recent movements have been, as might have been expected, to the east. It is to be added that they will not move, and are not found, beyond the laterite soil. For many years past they have crossed to Malda, but they will not settle there in spite of the attractions of its jungle. Attempts have frequently been made to settle them in the sub-Himalayan tracts which they visit as temporary labourers, but have failed, though the journey by land from Santalia is so easy. A colony of Christian Santals has been formed in Kamrup, but languishes and requires

PAGE.

SANTAL OR SONTAL—*concluded.*

considerable expenditure. The present writer has used their acquaintance with him to bring them over in large numbers to the Chittagong Hills, but though offered virgin soil on the most favourable terms, with advances on which to start, they refuse to settle or to engage for longer than a year, and for fear of being importuned they will not bring their bows or axes, or, while in these hills, which swarm with game, engage in hunting, at which they are incomparable . . .

As regards their seat before they were in Singhbhum and Silda, the main relevant fact we have is that the Damodar is to them what the Ganges is to the Hindu. The river is a long way from the Daman-i-koh, and is remote from the nearest point to it of the Santal Parganas. Yet parties of Santals from the extreme north are often met journeying to cast into it the bones of some revered member of the tribe. Still more distant was the Damodar from Silda, and it is natural to believe that their traditions of Champa and of Chai are as accurate as their recollection of the Damodar and of the name Kharwar 17

SANTAL PARGANAS—

The district formed from parts of Birbhum and Bhagalpur by Act XXXVII of 1855. The linguistic and ethnic lines between Hindustan and Bengal, rigidly drawn according to territory and not by natural boundaries, are shown by it in an interesting way. The district is formed of or from the following territories, beginning from the northernmost point, the Tiliagarhi stone fort, which is commonly and with accuracy said to be the gate between Hindustan and Bengal south of the Ganges :—

(1) The part of *pargana* Tiliagarhi south of the Ganges. The northern portion is in the Purnea district. The *pargana* was the zamindari of Roshan Bakht, who had been a Tili 10

(2) Some coparcenary property of Muhammadan officers and nobles of Rajmahal 9

(3) *Pargana* Ambar belonging to the Brahman house of Pakaur, its capital . . . . . ,,

(4) *Pargana* Sultanabad belonging to the Rajput house of Moheshpur, its capital . . . . . ,,

(5) Five great *tappans* of the Pathan Raj of Birbhum . 10

(6) Territory of the Pathan Raj of Kharakpur, including the Katauri Chiefship Hendue, and the Bhuiya *pargana* Passai 11

(7) The other three Katauri Chiefships . . . . ,,

The Kharakpur and Katauri territory is in Hindustan. The rest is in Bengal. The linguistic and (as regards Aryan or semi-Aryan) ethnic lines of boundary correspond with sharp distinctness with the territorial boundaries except in the huge *tappah* Sarath-Deoghar of the Birbhum Raj. Its northern part is distinctly Hindi, its south-eastern part is distinctly Bengali, and elsewhere the line is confused, Hindi preponderating. The explanation seems to be that it was Katauri land, and then Bhuiya land conquered by Birbhum. The Katauri territory is and was Hindustan. The Birbhum territory was Bengal. The Bhuiya of Lachmipur and Passai (and of South Bihar) speak Hindi. All other Bhuiya speak Bengali, Uriya, Telugu or Kanari 9

Of this territory only that of the Birbhum Raj belonged to the Birbhum district. The rest belonged to Bhagalpur, which was a very composite district as Ambar and Sultanabad are purely Bengali 3

SARATH-DEOGHAR—

One of the Santal Parganas bordering on Manbhum and Hazaribagh. A *tappah* of the Pathan Raj of Birbhum, nearly 800 square miles in extent. It contains the whole of the Deoghar subdivision and extends far into the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions. It used also to contain Pabia, once a *ghatwali*, now a large independent *pargana* under a Bhuiya Raja. It is territorially in Bengal (*v.* Santal Parganas), but ethnically and linguistically for the most part in Hindustan, to which, as Katauri country, it used to

PAGE.

SARATH-DEOGHAR—*concluded.*

belong. The Katauri were driven out by the Bhuiya, (who now hold it,) leaving many Katauri remains, and many fragments of their congenor and subject race the Mál, but no individuals of their own caste. The Bhuiya were subjugated by the joint efforts of the Pathans of Birbhum and Kharakpur, and Sarath-Deoghar fell to the former's share and Lachmipur (*q.v.*) to the latter's, though it retained a fief in Sarath-Deoghar. The Bhuiya were turbulent, and the Birbhum Raja compounded with them by making them *ghatwals* or wardens holding their taluks as service fiefs on low quit-rents. The British Government accepted this arrangement, but finding the exaction of police service difficult and irregular, and their quarrels with the Raja of Birbhum incessant, deputed in 1813 Mr. David Scott (*q.v.*) to make a settlement, which was confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, and Sarath-Deoghar is the only part of India to which that law applies. The whole *tappah* except a few acres in the town of Deoghar, is divided into *ghatwalis*, some of which are very considerable and important taluks. One, that of Karon (*q.v.*), was resumed by a Raja of Birbhum and bestowed on a Mahratta Brahman who had extricated him from a difficulty with the Viceroy at Murshidabad, and this Brahman family still hold it, though exempt from *ghatwali* service. Of the *ghatwals* the great majority are Bhuiya, and from this fact the Bhuiya of the Santal Parganas and Birbhum call themselves *ghatwal* (*q.v.*) by caste . . . 7

The exceptions are strange. One is an Englishman and one a Scotchman, the creations of Sir George Yule in 1858, when he was Commissioner of the Santal Parganas. The most illustrious of them, the *Ghatwal* of Ruhini in which Deoghar lies, is a connection of the Rajput houses of Khaira (*q. v.*) and Gidhaur, whose ancestors are said to have obtained the appointment and fief partly by conquest. Another ghatwal, of whom much the same story is told, is a Bhuinhar or Babhan. The Ghatwal of Sarath is a Hindi Kayath or Lala. Another is a Bengali Sunri. He bought his post and tenure. The Bhuiya Raja of Tundi in Manbhum is a ghatwal, as is, as already noticed, the Raja of Lachmipur in Bhagalpur . . 29

Sarath, with its capital lying on the Ajay under the Phuljori mountain, is the central *ghatwali.* It contains many old remains and was no doubt the Katauri capital, as there is nothing else to distinguish it. Deoghar is in the extreme north of the *tappah* and contains the temples of Baidyanath. After careful enquiry I satisfied myself that the word was Deoghar, and had never been Deogarh, a fact which shows that the name cannot be very ancient 7

Though in 1855 the Santal insurgents were very active and did much damage in Sarath-Deoghar, there are few Santals settled in it, and the central part, which is very Hindustani in character, is quite free from them. The indigenous people are the Naiya (*q.v.*), who are fast disappearing. The Bhuinhar or Babhan are numerous and influential, though as subordinates. The country is cleared and open with isolated hills, some of great beauty, rising here and there. Except for the verdure round them, they recall the similar fastnesses of the Boya in Telingâna . . . . . ,,

SARDAR—

The title acknowledged by Clevland for his Paharia stipendiaries who were heads of *parganas.* Next to them came their lieutenants called *Naibs*, who were kinsmen of the *Sardar.* The heads of individual hills or villages were called Manjhis. These titles could not be held independently of the stipends, though they were no doubt the Paharias' own titles for themselves 23

The title of headmen among the Bagdi 24

SAURIA—The name by which the Mâlér always described themselves, generally in conjunction with the word Mâlér (*q.v.*). To English ears Sauria (Anglice Sowreea) is the unmistakeable and plain pronunciation of the word by Paharias. Bengalis and Hindustanis seem to have great difficulty in rendering

PAGE.

SAURIA—*concluded.*

it and always do so with a suggestion of the sounds of b or v or m or n or u, or with all combined. The locally famous Dumka Peshkar, Lala Bhawani Charan, who had served with Mr. Pontet, and whose home was under the Rajmahal Hills, used to call the word, *sans façon*, Sumariya, as his only way of getting round it. Compare with this Sumarpal (*q.v.*), though this pronunciation is also used as a rhyming contrast to Kumarpal (*q.v.*); compare also Sabar (*q.v.*) or Sawar, and the various pronunciations for it and the various synonyms for Málé given in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. The Prasii of old seem to have felt the same difficulty; hence the varying forms Sabaræ and Suari or Suaræ of the Greek geographers for the Sauria Málér 6

SAURPAL—The hills of the Sauria (*q.v.*). The Sauria pronunciation for Sumarpal (*q.v.*). The note on it is given under the latter form because the name was extraneously given in that form and not by the Sauria 10

SAYYID SAYYID BOKHARI.—The ancestor of the Muhammadan Aymadars of Kaksa (*q.v.*), who is said to have conquered that State 19

SCOTT—Mr. David. A young Civil Servant, afterwards distinguished in Northern Bengal and Assam, who was sent to settle the *Ghatwals* of Sarath-Deoghar in 1813. He was well treated by them, for his report describes them as a manly race, surrounded by "numerous armed retainers," whose police arrangements were quite adequate. He revised, by compromises, their quit-rents, and his memoranda of these, with his report, are the only records of his settlement which was confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814. In 1879 Sarath-Deoghar was found with greatly increased revenues and inhabitants, with a comparatively criminal population, and with a far more inadequate rural police than any area in the district. Search began to be made for the "numerous armed retainers" described by Mr. Scott, and for means for enforcing the ghatwals' obligations. In the course of the enquiry the aged Bhuinhar *Ghatwal* of Bawanganwa (*v.* Sarath-Deoghar) was examined. He remembered "Amin Scott Sahib's" visit well, and gave valuable testimony as to the conditions which Mr. Scott thought adequate. They then began to be enforced . . . . . *v.* Sarath-Deoghar.

SELYE—The English for Silibati (*q.v.*), a river of Midnapore, pronounced like Selye; analogous to Ajay (*q.v.*) from Ajavati 2

SENPAHARI—A *pargana* intersected by the Ajay and formed by Raja Chitra Sen out of portions of Gopbhum, Shergarh and Birbhum at their trijunction. In the portion south of the Ajay is a table-land (*pahari*) on which are Raja Chitra Sen's fort and seven cannon engraved in Persian letters with the words "Raja Chitra Sen Rai." (*v.* Chitra Sen) . . 17

SHEOHAR—The transliterated spelling of the zamindari called Sur (*q.v.*) 27

SHERGARH—

By far the largest pargana of Burdwan which comprises almost the whole of the Raniganj subdivision, and contains fragments of *pargana* Kantanagar (*q.v.*) 3

A wilderness and debateable land disputed for by Bishtupur, Pachete, Pandra and Birbhum, bearing traces of them all . 4

Hastings took advantage of its state to appropriate a part of it for *pargana* Kantanagar . . . . . "

Its capital, Dihi Shergarh, belongs, with much of its land, to Pachete . . . . . "

Conquered by and settled with Burdwan . . . . . "

Is the Baori land of Burdwan 3

Is the coal-field of Bengal . . . . . "

Contains severaostone remains of great antiquity ascribed to the modern house of Burdwan. Probably Katuari remains, like those at Karon (*q.v.*), not very distant 4

Contains most of the Rajbansi Mál (*q.v.*) or Mál of Burdwan . 5

SIBU SUNDARI—A Paharia Rani. The disqualified proprietress of taluk Sankara (*q.v.*) 14

SILIBATI—*v.* Selye and *cf.* Kansabati 2

PAGE.

SING—
Title now fashionable among the Katauri chiefs instead of Barm (*q.v.*). (None but chiefs take either title. Hendue has alone had Sing. Patsanda still retains Barm. In Barkop the old party have Barm and the new party Sing) . . 32
Taken as a title by the Mál of the Daman-i-koh and Sankara (*q.v.*) 14
Taken as a title by the Bhuiya peasantry of *pargana* Passai as a mark of relationship to the house of Lachmipur (*q.v.*) . . 30
SIRCAR—The Honourable Mahendra Lal—is a representative of too Rajas of Gopbhum 19
SKREFSRUD—The Revd. L. O. His derivation of Pal-Pali, or Pel-Peli (*q. v.*) His derivation of Santal (*q.v.*) . . . *v.* Pal
SONTHAL—
v. Santal. (The spelling Sontal is as accurate.)
The spelling of Santal or Sontal prescribed by the Bengal Government in 1892.*
STIPENDS—
The allowances granted by Cleveland to the chiefs of *parganas* (Sardars), their deputies (Naibs), and the headmen of hills (Manjhis), in his Daman-i-koh. These stipends aggregated over Rs. 15,000 a year, and though Mr. Sutherland in 1818 pointed out that Cleveland had not meant them to be perpetual, and the Government in 1825 ordered them to be resumed as opportunity arose, they remained absolutely unchanged in amount till 1879, when they began to be resumed for misconduct, and not to be regranted to others as had been the practice. This practice was the consequence of the divided control over the Daman-i-koh which prevailed from 1784, when Cleveland died, till 1872. His Sasawal and Lieutenant, Abdul Rasul Khan, had it till 1818. From 1826 till 1833 Mr. Ward had the demarcation, but not the internal control, and no one else went near it. From 1836 till 1856 Mr. Pontet had the valleys and the Magistrate of Bhagalpur the hills. From 1856 till 1872 it was controlled by the Sub-District Officers of Rajmahal, Godda, Pakaur and Dumka, none of whom knew the history, while their Deputy Commissioner had become a purely judicial officer residing at Bhagalpur. Sir George Campbell put a stop to this state of things and made Dumka the capital of the Santal Parganas . 23
In 1882 I proposed a settlement with the Paharias. They were to get records of their property (of which they have none, a constant source of dispute and litigation) by a survey, and of their rights. The only records are of their privileges. In return they were to pay the Rs. 12,000 to which the stipends had by them been reduced instead of Government's doing so by an assessment which would have come to about an anna per acre. The Bengal Government assented to the scheme provided the *Paharias* would accept it. This they would not do . . . . . ,,
STRACHEY—
Sir H. A., Magistrate of Midnapore, whose most interesting account of that district is printed in the famous Fifth Report of 1812 23
Was shown a basketful of *Paharia* heads by the Magistrate of Birbhum . . . . . ,,
SUARÆ— } *v.* Malli, Sabar, Sauria 6
SUARI— }
SUARPAL.—Variant of Saurpal or Sumarpal (*q.v.*) . . . 10
SULTANABAD—
One of the Santal Parganas. A *pargana* of Rajshahi (*q.v.*) transferred in 1781, at Cleveland's instance, to Bhagalpur to complete his Daman-i-koh. It is peculiar in stretching right across the hills, and part of it lies on their west face. This is an accident due to Mr. Ward's very hasty demarcation of that face in 1833, as *pargana* Sultanabad included nothing westward of its hill *tappah* Kumarpal (*q.v.*) from which Mr. Ward's line curtailed this western portion, thus restoring it to the zamindari 9

* The spelling of Bhagalpur and Belpatta in the Regulations is Boglepore and Bheelputti.

PAGE.

SULTANABAD—*concld.*

The house of Sultanabad is Rajput of acknowledged purity, and though I knew the late Maharaja Gopal Chandra Sing, husband of the proprietress, well, I could never elicit the history of its settlement. It has entire control over the northern section of the Mál, who hold *tappah* Kumarpal and call themselves the Kumarbhag, and they claim blood relationship with it, while they hold no connection with their real kinsmen, the Katauri of Hendue, which marches with their western boundary. I think this to be explicable in the same way as the, in one respect, similar instance of Sumarpal (*q.v.*). That is, while the zamindars of Ambar, by virtue of being Brahmans, protected the Mălér of Sumarpal from the Bhuiya hordes on the west, who had overran and obliterated the Katauri of Usila, so the Rajputs of Sultanabad protected the hillmen adjoining them, and gained their allegiance ; but according to Rajput wont, by first making and acknowledging them to be Hindu and then marrying their daughters. The fact that Hendue became a part of the Kharakpur Raj showed that it too, though not extinguished, was overrun by the Bhuiya, and this is the only way of accounting for the severance of its connection with the hills which is held so firmly by all the other Katauri chiefships 10

SUMAR SING OR SUAR SINGH.—A Mál Paharia. The self-styled Raja and recognised talukdar of Sankara (*q.v.*). He consolidated the raj or taluk, which his father Tribhuban Sing had begun to form by robbing his neighbours of their lands under the protection of Regulation I of 1796. He thought the Sankara Sardar's stipend below his dignity and transferred it to a relative. He was despised by Mr. Ward, but much dreaded for his violence by Mr. Pontet, who was in collision with him, because he took advantage of Mr. Ward's hasty proceedings of 1833 to attach to Sankara the portion of *tappah* Marpal (*q.v.*) between the Brahmini and Eru rivers. Mr. Pontet succeeded in regaining it. He was particularly abhorred by the Santals, and escaped destruction at their hands by a natural death, at a great age for a Paharia, in 1855 (*v.* Santal). He is the only instance known of a Mál Raja. His family married in Kumarpal (*q.v.*) . . 14

SUMARPAL—Hindi and Bengali for Saurpal, the hills of the Sauria (*q.v.*). The hill *tappah* of Ambar (*q.v.*) taken by Cleveland into his Daman-i-koh. There are several points of interest about Sumarpal. It is the southernmost division of the Mălér, and on its south marches with the Mál tract, Kumarpal, in rhyme with which its name is pronounced, but is separated from Kumarpal by no natural boundaries. It is the only division of the Mălér which has a different name from the parent *pargana*, though the Mălér themselves call it Ambar. It and Kumarpal are the only hill divisions which wholly belonged to the *parganas* to east of them with no share in them held by the *parganas* on their west. The causes appear to be the Bhuiya invasion. The Bhuiya *pargana* Passai (*q.v.*) subtends Sumarpal on the west. It occupies the ground covered by the obliterated Katauri Chiefship Usila, which probably had its share in the hills like Barkop, Patsanda and Manihari. The most likely cause for the Bhuiya invasion stopping at the hills is the influence of the Brahmans of Ambar, whom the Bhuiya as neo-Hindu would particularly dread. Moreover, according to the Pakur (*q.v.*) chronicles, the first Pande who got the grant of *pargana* Ambar from the Court at Gaur or Rajmahal in the 16th century was a *Rishi*. This influential character at the house of Pakur still belongs to them, and they are marked for their conduct and ability. Both Mr. Ward and Mr. Pontet reported that they had more influence in the hills than any other zamindar. In consequence of Mr. Ward's hasty proceedings in 1833, they managed to get from the Resumption Commissioner in 1837 a decree for the whole of Sumarpal (*v.* Pontet and Ward.) Thus it is surmised that the hill *tappahs* of Usila and Ambar became amalgamated and

PAGE.

SUMARPAL—*concld.*

received a tribal name in place of the old territorial names. The position of Kumarpal can be similarly accounted for, as the Rajputs of Sultanabad, if not as influential as the Brahmans of Ambar, had other attractions to offer . . . (*v* Sultanabad.)

Sumarpal abounds in stories of raids, forays and fights. The great raid on *pargana* Kharakpur, reported by Cleveland as the subject of his first hill assembly, was committed by Sumarpal men. By Kharakpur is meant *pargana* Passai, then a *tappah* of Kharakpur. For the Paharia never raided their own parent *tappahs* and *parganas* except Tiliagarhi (*q. v.*) after it was taken from the Katauri Chief. The Sumarpal men have a story that they killed a wandering Englishman with an arrow, and that for this reason their lands have been given to Santals. In the main street of Passai (the capital of that *pargana*) is a lofty masonry tomb, plainly of a European, but nameless. The Passai villagers say it is that of Captain Jas. Browne, who, however, wrote his book on the Rajmahal Hills after he had finally left them in 1779. 10

SURAJBANSI—Its historical meaning, and that too in which it is intended to be used is of the race of the Kosala, the first Aryan conquerors of Oudh, whose royal family was descended from the sun. In imitation of genuine ancient Rajputs the word is assumed by all the chiefs, no matter what their race, who have affiliated themselves to Hinduism with the status of Kshatriya, except those like the Mongolian Tripura (Hill Tiperas), who claim the Lunar race. And so some of the Bhuiya peasants of Passai (*q. v.*) style themselves Surajbansi Rajputs, because the family of Lachmipur (*q.v.*) is of them . 22

SUTHERLAND—Mr. James. A Civil Servant who in 1818 was sent to enquire into the charges made against Abdul Rasul Khan, the Hill Sazawal, Cleveland's lieutenant and successor in the Daman-i-koh, and also to examine and report on that territory. The report was submitted in 1819, but owing to the troubles with the Pindaris, and then with Burma, which ended in the war, orders were not passed on it till 1825. (*v.* Stipends.) These orders resulted in Mr. Ward's being deputed to demarcate the territory. Mr. Sutherland's report was not printed till 1882, and then without editing and with many mistakes. It is a most graphic and interesting report as far as it goes, but it was not complete. It omits the Colgong (*q. v.*) hills, though Cleveland's stipends for them continued to be paid up till 1881. The extraordinary position of Sankara (*q. v.*) had been established, but Mr. Sutherland barely notices it, and left out altogether the hill territory to its south and west as far as Sundardihi in what was then Birbhum. Mr. Ward, who thought the whole hill system absurd, took advantage of these omissions to ignore all these hills in his demarcation 7

Mr. Sutherland's is the first record that I know of, of the Santal. He calls them Soutars, and met a few individuals at the southern edge of the present Daman-i-koh. They were then known as strangers from Singhbhum, but already celebrated for their industry and expertness as field labourers . ,,

The Paharias still remember Abdul Rasul Khan. They say—"After Chilmili there was Con Sahib, and then Ponteen" (Pontet). They have no recollection of Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Ward, I found the local officers believing that "Con Sahib" was a European. The title Sahib given to him in contrast to plain Chilmili and Ponteen indicates both his character and the Musulman. He died just before Mr. Sutherland's inquiry began. The Paharias cannot without difficulty pronounce the intermediate aspirate. *cf.* Boya and Khatauri . . . . . ,,

SHURNOMOYEE—Maharani, M.I.O.C.I., of Kasimbazar, a lady renowned for her ability, discrimination, and magnificent benefactions. (*v.* Kanta Babu) 10

PAGE.

T.

TALITGARH—A large and strong fort in the open plain west of Burdwan, made by Raja Tilak Chand as a refuge against the Mahrattas (*cf.* Kulingram) 25
TAMLUK - *v.* Tumlook 15
TAMRALIPTA—The Greek name for Tumlook (*q. v.*) . . . . "
TELI—The oilman caste of Bengal which, in Burdwan, contends for the headship of the Nabasakh or nine principal (or as by contradiction in terms they call it, pure,) Sudra castes of Bengal. (*v.* Tili) 10
TENTULIA—A division of the Bagdi (*q. v.*) 17
TILI—
A trading caste, the members of which in Western Bengal are always anxious to be taken for Teli, but which the Teli of Burdwan regard as far inferior to their caste and refuse to acknowledge as Nabasakh. *v.* Teli* 10
A prominent instance of the name resemblance and of trading thereon. (*v.* Names) . . . . . "
TILLAGARHI—One of the Santal Parganas and the northernmost. (*v.* Sonthal Parganas.) Part of the original *pargana*, however, now lies north of the Ganges in the Purnea district. The *pargana* is the most recent of the Sonthal Parganas. It was sliced out of Manihari (*q. v.*) and conferred in the last century on Roshan Bakht who had been a Tili. The stone fort which he built on the north face of the hills is a very flimsy structure, now intersected by the railway. It is commonly looked on as the gate between Hindustan and Bengal, and this accords with the local facts. The hill part of the *pargana* was detached by Cleveland for his Daman-i-koh. It was much frequented by him, and on the hill above the recently formed town Sahibganj, is shown the flat space on which his tent used to be pitched. Nearly all the stories of Paharia outrages and of the measures taken against them pertain to Tillagarhi alone, and show what little hold the Tili zamindar had over the hillmen as compared with their Katauri kinsmen of Manihari whom he had supplanted . "
TRIBHUBAN SING—Cleveland's stipendiary sardar for the Sankara hills (*v.* Sankara) and father of Sumar Sing (*q.v.*). It must have been Tribhuban Sing who, for the ends which he and his son carried out so successfully, worked on Cleveland to get *tappah* Belpatta (*q.v.*) transferred to Bhagalpur and included in the Daman-i-koh; for Marpal (*q.v.*) and Danrpal (*q.v.*), which were really Paharia tracts, never had sardars or chiefs 14
TUMLOOK—The English for Tamluk (*q.v.*) 15

U.

UGRAHA KHETRI—*v.* Aguri 18
URAON—*v.* Oraon 12
USILA—A vanished Katauri chiefship, one of the forts of which Manihari was the parent, which lay between Barkop on the north and Hendue (*q.v.*) on the south, the space now occupied by the tiny *pargana* Godda, and the great Bhuiya *tappah* Passai (*q.v.* V. also Sumarpal). There is a bad mistake or confusion at page 7 of the text, so far as it appears to mean that Usila was in existence at the British accession. It had been obliterated by the Bhuiya before A.D. 1600, the date of the rise of Kharakdar (*q.v.*) 7

* The title taken by the Burdwan Tili is Nandi, and by the Teli, Pal, Pramanik, and Sarkar. I find that in Nadia, where there are some very affluent and influential Tili families, they hold themselves to be superior to the Teli and show much annoyance if taken for them. In Burdwan the Teli claim to be the head of the Nabasakh, or nine superior Sudra castes. The Nadia Tili disavow all connection with oil-pressing.

PAGE.

V

VARDDHAMANA—The Sanskrit form of Barddhaman which the English call Burdwan 2
VIKRAMADITYA—Legends of—at Mangalkot 20

W.

WARD—
The Honourable John Petty. The self-willed and autocratic officer who demarcated the Laman-i-koh in the years 1826 to 1833, and greatly curtailed it (*v.* Sutherland). Mr. Ward, who was a brother of the third Viscount Bangor, came to India in the Civil Service in 1810. He was a very able officer, and his style of writing, which is either graphic or incisive, stands out in strong contrast with the prolixity and rhetorical flourishes of the other correspondence. His views, too were in advance of his time, and though contemptuously expressed, were distinguished by strong common sense and have been or would be all accepted since and now. He had no sympathy with Cleveland's measures (which, though by a succession of accidents continued to this day, were only intended as provisional by Cleveland himself); he wrote without hesitation of the "preposterous claims of the *Paharias*," and he curtailed the Daman-i-koh to the smallest possible limits, and obtained the passing of Regulation I of 1827, to replace Regulation I of 1796 which made such instances as the Sankara case possible (*v.* Sankara). Finally, in the teeth of the Government orders, he introduced the Santals (*v.* Santal). A valuable piece of work done by Mr. Ward while engaged on the demarcation was an inquiry into and report on the *ghatwals* of Bhagalpur, of which there were at least three kinds. The fact of Mr. Ward's work after his retirement being so discredited probably accounts for the neglect of this report. Had it been regarded, the Bengal Government a few years later could not have incurred the scathing comments passed on it by the Privy Council in the famous appeal of Raja Khadir Ali (*q.v.*) in 1845. In 1884 a reference to this report was made, and it could not then be found in the records of the Bengal Office. There is an unattested and defective copy of it in the Dumka record-room . . 13
The great differences in the method and records of the demarcation of the Daman-i-koh need accounting for. Mr. Ward began the work in Manihari (*q.v.*) in 1826, and placed his first pillar a few miles south of Pirpainti, now a railway station, and worked thence to the north and east. Each step of the first and second season's work is recorded with the utmost care, and the reports contain many interesting references to the local history. It was in this part of the work that the Colgong (*q.v.*) hills were cut off, with no report of this action (*v.* Sutherland), and with no interference with the stipends (*v.* Stipends), with the payment of which Mr. Ward in his special capacity had nothing to do. Then occurs a vast hiatus which has never been satisfactorily filled. Mr. Ward was sent to Purnea to enquire into a grave scandal affecting the Judge of that district. In 1830 he was appointed to be Commissioner of Aligarh, but did not join that appointment. His report on *Ghatwals* shows him to have been engaged in the west of South Bhagalpur and Monghyr and in 1830 he was Magistrate of Bhagalpur. In 1832 the Government awoke to the fact that not a fourth of the demarcation work had been done, though Mr. Ward's establishment was still retained solely for it. Explanations, recriminations, and censure followed, and the Board of Revenue deservedly came in for the greatest share of the last. The brand new Commissioner of Bhagalpur sought to make Mr. Ward answerable, but after the latter's reply, which is the most contemptuously insubordinate document, considering the position of the writer, which I have seen, there is no record of blame being affixed to him till after his

PAGE.

WARD—*concluded.*

retirement in 1834, when it became abundant. He was, however, ordered to complete his proceedings forthwith, and the remainder of them appear from the map, which is their only record, to have been done by a few strokes of the pen. On the east the line was drawn straight as the crow flies through Ambar and Sultanabad, severing many a hill and Paharia village, till it reached the Brahmini river. This was followed as the southern boundary, cutting off the Ramgarh and Sankara hills without a word of report, and, as before, leaving them with their stipends, and then taken in a bee line north till it rejoined pillar No. 1. The Ambar Brahmans made no sign, but in 1837 obtained from the Resumption Commissioner a decree for the whole of Sumarpal (*q v.*), thus absolutely ignoring Mr. Ward's imaginary line. Had they not so overreached themselves, they could have given much trouble about it. The proprietress of Sultanabad was an infant, and her husband, the late Maharaja Gopal Chandra Singh, a boy. Afterwards, while still a lad, he gave Mr. Pontet much assistance in securing Mr. Ward's line, which had given him several Paharia villages and an unexpected slice of territory west of the hills (*v.* Sultanabad), and this part of the line has always stood without dispute. Birbhum, of course, with so large an area restored to it, made no objection. Nevertheless in 1837 Mr. Pontet found it impossible to ascertain whether Mr. Ward's line northward had started from the Brahmini, or the Lau which flows into it, and Sumar Singh (*q.v.*) had taken possession of the country between these two rivers. The point was decided on finding that this strip of country belonged to Marpal (*q.v.*). The Raja of Hendue was astounded at finding a strip of the Sultanabad zamindari interposed between part of his territory and the hills. Since the defection of the Kumarpal Paharias to Sultanabad, he had reason to fear that powerful house, but the line bordering Hendue has given much trouble since. The Bhuiya of Passai were still full of gratitude for their release from the domination of Kharakpur (*v.* Lachmipur), and accepted the line. North of Passai to pillar No. 1 a fairly good natural boundary exists, but like most of the line, except the Sultanabad portion, this bit had to be redemarcated in 1868. In 1882 the spaces between the pillars were planted or sown with palmyra palms, and for some lengths with excellent results. Mr. Ward retired in much disgust in 1834 . . . 14

Z.

ZABTI—An Urdu (Arabic) word meaning, seized or confiscated. It is in allusion to Cleveland's proceedings of 1780 and 1781, the local name invariably used for the Daman-i-koh. In the south of the district it is pronounced Jubti or Juphti . . 7

R. D'R.—Reg. No 6011J—150—22-11-94.